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THE

HISTORY

OF

Ancient and Modern EGYPT:

COMPREHENDING

A View of the Natural Phænomena; the Efforts of Genius and Art; and the Moral, Religious, Commercial, and Political Tranſactions of the Egyptians, from the earlieſt Dawn of Intelligence, to the lateſt Period of authentic Information.

COMPRIZING LIKEWISE,

A COMPARISON BETWIXT THE ANCIENT AND PRESENT STATE OF EGYPT,

AND A PHILOSOPHIC VIEW OF THOSE REMARKABLE PRODUCTIONS

Connected with the Hiſtory of that Country.

From the moſt authentic Records.

BY J. FRANKLIN, ESQ.

Vol. II.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

FROM the continued labours of a few more months, the history of a "GREAT NATION of antiquity, conspicuous in arts, in science, and in arms," has been rescued from the fragments of ancient authors. In perusing these pages, the philosopher will find subjects for contemplation, the honest moralist for reflection; and both may perceive, that the rise and fall of nations, like the fortunes of individuals, depend, in a great measure, upon their own conduct; for vice and virtue in nations, as in individuals, are most generally productive of their own reward.—We have seen the Egyptian empire, founded by Sesostris, falling to pieces of its own accord, and afterwards succeeded by that of the Medes and Persians; but the internal diseases of apathy, dissipation, and corruption, precipitated that government from its prosperity, and rendered it an easy prey to the aspiring

genius of Alexander. The Grecian or Macedonian empire, thus founded by the ſon of Philip, was, ſoon after his death, rent to pieces, by the claſhing ambition of his generals; and the four diviſions of the Egyptian, Aſiatic, Grecian, and Thracian empires, fell to the lot of Ptolemy, Seleucus, Caſſander, and Lyſimachus. The ſyſtem of partitioning empire ſeems to have been peculiar to their ſucceſſors, and continued, with little interruption, till the whole maſs of nations became ſucceſſively the dupes and victims of Roman avarice and ambition. But we leave this abridged picture of human ambition, to trace the progreſs of Egyptian affairs down to a later period; though little conſolatory to the philanthropic mind does a view of thoſe times even offer. It is hope only that brightens the proſpect; and the friend to the human race would fain anticipate that period, when the arts, the ſciences, and the ſocial civilities of life, may again flouriſh on that congenial ſoil, with all the properties of their former celebrity, without their former alloy.

NEWCASTLE,
7th April, 1801.

The AUTHOR.

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HISTORY
OF
ANCIENT AND MODERN
EGYPT.

SECTION II.

CHAP. I

View of the religion of the first ages of the world.—The changes which it underwent in Egypt, and the causes of that change.—Sacrifice and veneration for animals, considered.—The different modes and symbols of worship in Egypt; and the mythology or idolatry of the Egyptians, with their various religious institutions.

IN entering upon this division of our work, we shall begin with an enquiry into the religion of the ancient Egyptians. Though the affairs of society seem to be inconsiderably connected with the religious sentiments of individuals, it appears, nevertheless, singular, that most nations have engrafted some prevailing mode of worship, so as to form a part of the political system. Incongruous as this sentiment may appear, yet, in Egypt, it was, in general, a principal

mover in all their transactions, and a powerful ſtimulus in the common affairs of life. There is no probability that they were originally actuated from this motive, or that any religion was eſtabliſhed till a conſiderable period had elapſed; but when that event took place, it had a powerful influence on ſociety. Their laws, their cuſtoms, and their arts were ſubjected to its dominion, and their political tranſactions were principally regulated by its power; genius was patronized, or conſigned to oblivion, under its direction, and poverty or riches awaited its command.

As the early aſſociation of mankind would be at firſt in few and detached families, the oldeſt man, on account of his age, his virtues and experience, would be conſidered as their preceptor in religion and morals. When ſociety increaſed, the patriarchs of the reſpective diſtricts would, no doubt, continue to preſide, and communicate their knowledge and their virtues to the ignorant and the uninformed. But when population had arrived to ſuch an extent, as to place it beyond their power to attend to the inſtruction of the young, and inculcate the duties of morality and religion, a certain portion of the moſt virtuous and venerable part of ſociety, would be ſelected for that diſtinguiſhed office.

In thoſe ages alluded to, the religion of man was free from thoſe abſurd theories and ſpeculative doctrines, which afterwards diſtracted the happineſs of ſociety, and perpetually haraſſed the peace of the

community. Firm in the belief of the deity, their notions of religion conſiſted in veneration and gratitude to that Being who formed the Univerſe, and in the reciprocal practice of thoſe duties of friendſhip, juſtice, and benevolence, which each man owes to another.

Ignorant of vicious habits which engendered thoſe evils that injure and deſtroy the peace of man, nature preſented her gifts nearly ſpontaneouſly and without alloy, and conſequently the ſource of exiſtence and abundance was juſtly venerated and adored. It was not till ſociety had increaſed, when the paſſions of envy, malice, pride, revenge, &c. with their concomitant train of vices, which had uſurped the place of ſo many virtues in the mind of man, that the religion of nature was deſpoiled of her beauties, and ſuperſtition uſurped her throne. To trace the gradation from this ſtate of ſimplicity and peace, to the ultimate ſtage of degradation and error, we ſhall conſider

THE CHANGES WHICH RELIGION UNDERWENT IN EGYPT, AND THE CAUSES OF THAT CHANGE.

When mankind exiſted in a ſtate of purity, when their minds were uninfluenced by the ſordid motives of avarice and ambition, and the contending paſſions of envy and revenge, they viewed the Deity as a mild and beneficent Being, diſpenſing happineſs and peace throughout the Univerſe. But when they became

tainted with guilt and diſſimulation, they conſidered him as an awful and terrific God, viewing the actions of men with a jealous and imperious eye. Actuated with this ſentiment, they judged of his attributes and his power, through the falſe medium of their own imaginations; and conſidered him as poſſeſſed of paſſions ſimilar to their own. Such ideas impreſſed themſelves ſo forcibly on the mind, that their hopes and their fears were the only monitors in their religious worſhip; and their adoration of the Deity conſiſted leſs in grateful acknowledgements of his beneficence, than in a ſolicitude to avert ſome dreadful cataſtrophe, or implore ſome ſignal favour. Their penitence conſiſted in the loweſt proſtrations of humility, and the infliction of voluntary puniſhments on their bodies; and they adored the Deity in ſuch fulſome adulation, as aroſe ſolely from the ſervility of fear. Their praiſe conſiſted in pompous offerings and magnificent ſacrifices, for the purpoſe of ſoothing the ſtern and implacable Being, whom they ſuppoſed to delight in vengeance, or to mollify him into an acquieſcence with their deſires. The one was to deprecate the wrath of an angry judge, the other to purchaſe the favour of a mighty ſovereign.

Though theſe ſentiments would not univerſally prevail all at once, it is probable that they would become gradually more general, in proportion, as ignorance and deſpotiſm weilded their leaden ſceptres. Other cauſes, no doubt, likewiſe concurred to per-

petuate the growing ſyſtem of ſuperſtition, ſo that, in length of time, it degenerated into unqualified idolatry.

With reſpect to the firſt ſtep of error which led to the abolition of their original belief of the Deity, it is probable that it aroſe from expreſſing his various attributes under particular ſymbols; or by conſidering certain parts of the creation as emanations of himſelf. The Sun, the great diſpenſer of light and heat, is ſuch a conſpicuous luminary, and whoſe influence upon our earth in nouriſhing and vivifying every part of animated life, is ſo peculiarly obvious, as muſt ſtrike every mind in a forcible manner. It is, therefore, not ſurpriſing, that the Sun ſhould be viewed by the ancients as the principal vicegerent of the Deity to this part of the ſyſtem. They, therefore, conſidered that as they were too impure and imperfect to addreſs a Being infinitely removed from their approach, they conſidered the Sun as a proper mediator to intercede in their behalf. The moon and planets, in an inferior degree, were, likewiſe, conſidered as celeſtial bodies, endowed with, and partaking of the divine nature. Thought to be the beneficent and viſible repreſentatives of the author of nature, they addreſſed them as interceſſors, and, therefore, laid claim to a ſubordinate ſhare of worſhip. When theſe planetary orbs diſappeared, and were obſcured from obſervation by clouds and tempeſts, they had recourſe to ſymbols of a temporary nature, ſuch as piles of wood and

other combuſtible materials which produced fire. Theſe emblems, which were only figurative of other emblems, in length of time diſtracted the underſtandings of men, and ultimately produced the effect of paying devotions to theſe ſymbolical objects, which were only deſigned originally to raiſe their devotion to the author of nature.

To this circumſtance muſt, no doubt, be aſcribed that ſpurious mode of worſhip, "the Hoſt of heaven," which prevailed univerſally in the Eaſt in ancient times, and exiſts in a certain degree, at preſent, in Perſia, and ſeveral parts of India. The uncertain period of the building of the pyramids of Memphis, induce ſome ingenious men to aſſign that purpoſe, as being the principal object for which they were built, as they reſemble a flame of fire. However, the religion of the ancient Egyptians changed it features, and became ſo myſterious and complicated, that none but the order of prieſts underſtood its meaning and tendency, except thoſe who ſubmitted to the leſſons and ceremonies of initiation.

The ſyſtem of the Egyptian mythology is univerſally acknowledged to have been ſymbolical, and only ultimately acquired that heterogeneous form, from the indolence or deſigning hypocriſy of the prieſts. At firſt, gratitude, the moſt amiable of virtues, impelled them to venerate the memory of their ingenious and their virtuous characters, but futurity forgot the object of that veneration, and they

were, therefore, deified. When the arts of life were firſt invented in the world, the early founders and propagators of theſe uſeful acquirements, naturally excited the love and admiration of the people. The rude inventor of a plough, the firſt cultivator of the earth, and the architect of a temple or a hut, would naturally have ſome monuments of their ingenuity erected to their memory. Theſe men would, at firſt, be ſimply remembered and venerated. But an idea that their genius perhaps preſided over the arts which they invented, would induce their poſterity to believe that they were removed only to another ſtate of exiſtence, where they watched the deeds of their children, and according as they followed their counſels, or rejected them, would they be ſucceſsful or unfortunate. Likewiſe, when men of ſplendid talents aroſe, ſuch as magiſtrates, legiſlators, and heroes, who, by their virtues and their abilities, were raiſed to ſuperior dignity and eſteem, they would, no doubt, be followed by the prayers, the vows, and the ſacrifices of the people, when they departed from their terreſtrial abode. A belief of the immortality of the ſoul which then ſtill univerſally prevailed, would lead them to the belief that they were capable of continuing their good offices to their friends and their admirers in a future ſtate of exiſtence. That perſuaſion would induce mankind to addreſs prayers and vows to theſe departed worthies; in the idea that they were in great favour with the Deity, and that they could intercede

for them to prefer their prayers and receive the object of their requeſts.

Such are the outlines of the firſt dawnings of the Egyptian mythological worſhip. The gods Oſiris, Iſis, Orus, Thoth, &c. were formerly diſtinguiſhed perſonages, whoſe ſervices to their country were ſuch as to render their memory ſacred, and afterwards transformed their characters into the attributes of the Deity. It would be an impoſſible taſk to trace with abſolute preciſion the reſpective worſhip which was offered to each, or even to know at this diſtant period the names of thoſe tutelar deities which were adored in Egypt; but the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſhall be mentioned when we come to treat of their different modes of worſhip.—In the mean time, we ſhall conſider the nature of ancient ſacrifices, and that ſingular propenſity of the Egyptians to venerate animals.

ANCIENT SACRIFICES.

In treating of the religion of the ancient Egyptians, that part of it relating to ſacrifices comes properly under our review. As the ſtrongeſt proof of a man's gratitude is in the returning a favour when he has it in his power, ſo the mark of a man's piety in ancient times was in offering up the firſt fruits of his lands, as an expreſſion of his veneration and gratitude to that God, from whoſe beneficence they were enjoyed. The origin of this inſtitution is aſcribed to different nations, and Porphyry attributes it to the Egyptians.

However, wherever the cuſtom took its riſe, it was coeval with man, and practiſed univerſally throughout the world. Sacred Writ details two of the moſt remarkable ſacrifices in early times, by Cain and Abel, the reſult of which terminated in the murder of the latter.

After men had forſaken their ancient diet of herbs and roots, and had recourſe to animal food, they likewiſe ſhed their blood in ſacrifices; but in Egypt, except upon particular occaſions, that practice was not general. But the moſt ſhocking ſpecies of ſacrifices was in offering up human victims. Univerſal as the inſtitution of ſacrifices was, it is ſomewhat ſingular that this inhuman practice ſhould have exiſted in the ſame degree. To the honour of the Jews they eſteemed it barbarous, and ſhewed in their public acts the moſt marked averſion to this cruel cuſtom. In Egypt the barbarous inſtitution prevailed till the reign of Amaſis, in whoſe reign it was aboliſhed; but not to ſhock the ſuperſtitious fears of the people, a waxen figure was ſubſtituted in its ſtead. The ſingular cuſtom which we have before noticed, of a virgin being yearly ſacrificed to the Nile, was not aboliſhed till the reign of the Caliphs.

It may, perhaps, be difficult to find a probable reaſon why human ſacrifices were offered in any country; but in Egypt, their peculiar laws, which extended to a prohibition of killing animals of any kind, would almoſt ſeem to exempt them from that

charge. In the time of Herodotus, it was known only by tradition, and then they took conſiderable pains to wipe off that ſtain of cruelty. They alleged as the reaſon why ſuch an inſtitution ever exiſted, that Typhon (whom they repreſented as the evil genius) having murdered his brother Oſiris, a man of the ſame complexion with Typhon was ſacrificed, to avenge the death of that great character; as they ſuppoſed the genius of Oſiris was diſpleaſed, except a human victim was offered up to appeaſe his manes.* Such an account, indeed, correſponds with the gloomy ſuperſtition of the firſt ages, when they figured the Deity to be a God of auſterity and ſtern juſtice, and,

*. As red oxen were allowed to be ſacrificed, becauſe of their reſemblance to Typhon, who, it is ſaid, was red haired; ſo men of that complexion were reported to have been ſlain in former times, by their kings, at the tomb of Oſiris: But few of the Egyptians having red hair, ſtrangers were the uſual victims; whence it is ſuppoſed, the fable among the Greeks, of the cruelty of Buſiris to ſtrangers took its riſe; not from any king of that name, but becauſe Oſiris's tomb was ſo called in the Egyptian tongue. Men were alſo, in old times, ſacrificed at Heliopolis, and to Juno or Lucina, at a city in the Upper Thebais, called by the name of that goddeſs, who was worſhipped there under the form of a vulture. Theſe human victims were to be approved of in the ſame manner as the calves that were ſearched and ſealed as clean; and three were ſacrificed every day, at a certain ſeaſon in the dog-days, being burnt alive, and their aſhes ſcattered abroad; to theſe unhappy men they gave the epithet of Typhonian.

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when offended, it was requiſite to glut his altars with blood, before his anger would be appeaſed.†

VENERATION OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS FOR ANIMALS, &c.

In treating of the mode of writing by hieroglyphics, we obſerved, that the origin of letters was derived from expreſſing ſentiments by the figures of animals, from the real or ſuppoſed qualities they were underſtood to poſſeſs. Being accuſtomed to ſee ſeveral of thoſe animals applied to the deſcription of the moſt ſacred ſubjects, a degree of veneration was inſenſibly paid them by the people, in conſequence of that particular purpoſe. Such an acquaintance with the

† In the early times of all religions, when nations were yet barbarous and ſavage, there was ever an aptneſs or tendency towards the dark part of ſuperſtition, which, among many other horrors, produced that of human ſacrifice. SHAFTESBURY.

That the cuſtom of human ſacrifices, alike cruel and abſurd, gives way but very ſlowly to the voice of nature and of reaſon, is evident from its having been practiſed at ſo late a period by the enlightened people of Greece. Porphyry, alſo, informs us, that, even in his time, who lived 233 years after the Chriſtian era, there were human ſacrifices in Arcadia and at Carthage. BELOE.

At preſent, in the interior of Africa, America, and in ſeveral parts of Aſia, as well as in the South Sea iſlands, their practice is to ſacrifice priſoners taken in battle, for the purpoſe, as they allege, of appeaſing the manes of the deceaſed, who are not ſatisfied till they kill as many as they have loſt, and then make the overplus ſlaves. A.

nature and qualities of these animals in the scale of being, naturally induced them to pay them a degree of respect; from which circumstance alone, that particular attention to their safety arose. Those animals, therefore, which were found to possess a more striking analogy than others, were naturally used as symbols; hence arose their use in the religion of the Egyptians. But in length of time their purposes were forgot, and instead of applying them as emblems of those divinities to which they were consecrated, they became the ultimate object of vulgar adoration. And what perpetuated the delusion, these animals were dignified with the names of the divinities themselves. It has been observed by the Grecian writers, that different animals were consecrated to one deity, but as that difference never arose in one nome, there is a probability that it might occur from various opinions being entertained about their propriety as emblems. The ox, particularly a black one, was the symbol of Osiris, or the Sun, and was the most prevalent throughout Egypt; though the goat was also the emblem of that deity, but in another nome. The ox was likewise the emblem of agriculture.—However, another reason might be alleged for the veneration in which animals were held. The immortality of the soul was an opinion that they never parted with; and as they believed that the soul passed successively through the bodies of terrestrial, aquatic and aerial animals, for a certain period of time, they might from that circumstance be rendered sacred.

The veneration of the Egyptians for ſhrubs, plants, and other inanimate parts of creation, aroſe from ſimilar cauſes. The prieſts, many of whom were philoſophers, diſcovered in their formation, or phyſical properties, ſome reſemblance to the virtues of the deified heroes which were the object of their veneration. The lotus, in particular, was the ſymbol of Oſiris' throne, and is, indeed, a moſt ſignificant emblem of the Sun, which Oſiris repreſented; as it diſappears when the Sun has ſet, and the flowers, leaves, fruit, and root have the form and figure of that luminary. The different parts of nature which they ſelected, ſeem, ſo far as we are acquainted with, to have been apt repreſentations of the ſubject alluded to, and leave us impreſſed with a high opinion of their knowledge of the philoſophy of nature.

The religion, therefore, of the ancient Egyptians, though involved in the mazes of ſuperſtition and error, was originally the pure and ſimple religion of nature. But when they began to deviate from the ſimplicity of truth, ſuperſtition, being the natural aſſociate of ignorance, paved the way to innumerable abſurdities; ſo that it became ultimately deformed with a chaos of mythological fables and ſymbolical fictions, which, according to the language of the prieſts, were called *myſteries*. But, as Savary ſays, we are perſuaded, that prejudiced or ſuperficial writers have frequently calumniated the worſhip of nations, by

making them adore an insensible stone, or vile animals. The marble sculptured by their hands, the ox consecrated by religion, were emblems only of the divinity to whom they addressed their vows, similar to the statues and images which fill the christian temples, and which are no more than representations of the saints or of God for whom the incense burns. If the islanders of Otaheite, scarcely in any degree civilized, esteem their *Bananas*, and the animals depointed within their *Morais*, as offerings only to their *Eatoas*, what should make us imagine that the Egyptians worshipped as gods in reality, the onion and the crocodile? This opinion, destitute of foundation, can never be entertained for a moment by a sensible people. Is it possible that the Egyptians, who were stiled a wise people, who cultivated the sciences with such success, amongst whom Solon resided to collect the beautiful code of laws he gave to the Athenians, and where Plato learnt to acknowledge the immortality of the soul, could ever adopt so barbarous a theology! No, the philosophers of Egypt, however the vulgar might apprehend, never deified animals; they did not even, like the Greeks, raise their heroes to the rank of Gods. Their religion was founded on astronomy and the phenomena of nature. But they placed above their emblems, an invisible Being, to whom they attributed the wonderful harmony which pervades the universe; though the vulgar, perhaps, whose feeble sight could not raise itself beyond sensible

objects, might frequently adore the ſymbol inſtead of the divinity.*

* Dr Young, in reaſoning upon the firſt introduction of idolatry, adduces the following ſpecious addreſs, as an argument of the prieſts, for the propriety of admitting ſymbols into their mode of worſhip. "We are all aware, ye ſons of Noah, that religion is our chief concern; and, therefore, it well becomes us to improve and advance it as much as poſſible. We have, indeed, received appointments from God for the worſhip which he requires; but if theſe appointments may be altered for his greater glory, there is no doubt but that it will be a commendable piety. Now our father Noah has inſtructed us in a religion, which, in truth, is too ſimple and too unaffecting: It directs us to the worſhip of God, abſtractedly from all ſenſe, and under a confuſed notion; under the formality of attributes, as power, goodneſs, juſtice, wiſdom, eternity, and the like; an idea foreign to our affections, as well as our comprehenſions. Whereas, in all reaſon, we ought to worſhip God more pompouſly and more extenſively, and not only to adore his perſonal and eſſential attributes, but likewiſe all the emanations of them, and all thoſe creatures by which they are eminently repreſented. Nor can this be any derogation from his honour, ſince his honour is certainly more amply expreſſed when in this manner we acknowledge, that not only himſelf, but all his creatures likewiſe, are adorable. We ought, therefore, (if we will be wiſe) to worſhip the hoſt of heaven, becauſe they are eminent repreſentations of his glory and eternity: We ought to worſhip the elements, becauſe they repreſent his benignity and omnipreſence: We ought to worſhip princes, becauſe they ſuſtain a divine character, and are the repreſentatives of his power on earth: We ought to worſhip men, famous in their generation, even when they are dead, becauſe their virtues are the diſtinguiſhing gifts and communications of

THE SYMBOLICAL RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS.

When we conſider religion in all its ramifications, it may be juſtly ranked as a ſcience, and placed at the head of Ethics. It compriſes our duty to that Great firſt cauſe, who formed the Univerſe; the diſcharge of thoſe reciprocal ties of ſocial attachment and mutual ſympathy which we owe to each other; and that neceſſary attention of moderation, juſtice, humility, and thoſe virtues which are allied perſonally to ourſelves and our families. Our own happineſs is ſo deeply intereſted in its ſtudy, that it forms a neceſſary connection with our exiſtence; but it is a melancholy reflection that ſo little attention is paid to its natnre, that men rather differ about the meaning of the word, than attend to the duties it enjoins. With all the errors and abſurdities of the Egyptian theology, they had a real meaning of its nature. To promote each others happineſs, to render life eaſy, and to reward the virtuous, were axioms they inculcated, and which are ſo conſonant to the nature of chriſtianity, that if they were ignorant of their duty to the Deity, it is evident they were acquainted with that to their fellow men.

God: Nay, we ought to worſhip the ox and the ſheep, and whatever creatures are moſt beneficial, becauſe they are the ſymbols of his love and goodneſs; and with no leſs reaſon the ſerpent, the crocodile, and other animals that are noxious, becauſe they are ſymbols of his awful anger." YOUNG'S SERMONS.

The description which we can give of their religion must necessarily be imperfect, as all the fragments remaining respecting it has been given us by the Grecians. Warped as they were with the superstition of their own country, they acknowledge, indeed, the preference to the Egyptians; but being, undoubtedly, ignorant of the essential principles of religion themselves, they only give us a copious detail of superstitious rites and ceremonies, which were, perhaps, those extraneous forms that were similar to their own. To present a minute account of these ceremonial forms, would be trifling with the feelings of a rational mind; we shall, therefore, endeavour to relate those conspicuous parts of their worship which may afford the necessary clue to procure adequate information on the subject, and give the requisite outlines, as it is connected with the history of that country.

We have endeavoured to trace the rise and progress of idolatry; and followed the religion of the Egyptians through its different changes, till it acquired that particular mythological form, which has been termed *Idolatry*. That symbolical worship was not the effect of one age or one man, but the result of successive alterations and additions, made by ingenious characters at different periods. The origin of it is attributed to Hermes, who invented the hieroglyphical characters; but it was not till several centuries had elapsed, that these emblems were considered as a part of religion. The second Hermes, who is said to have recovered

THE SYMBOLICAL RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS.

When we conſider religion in all its ramifications, it may be juſtly ranked as a ſcience, and placed at the head of Ethics. It compriſes our duty to that Great firſt cauſe, who formed the Univerſe; the diſcharge of thoſe reciprocal ties of ſocial attachment and mutual ſympathy which we owe to each other; and that neceſſary attention of moderation, juſtice, humility, and thoſe virtues which are allied perſonally to ourſelves and our families. Our own happineſs is ſo deeply intereſted in its ſtudy, that it forms a neceſſary connection with our exiſtence; but it is a melancholy reflection that ſo little attention is paid to its natnre, that men rather differ about the meaning of the word, than attend to the duties it enjoins. With all the errors and abſurdities of the Egyptian theology, they had a real meaning of its nature. To promote each others happineſs, to render life eaſy, and to reward the virtuous, were axioms they inculcated, and which are ſo conſonant to the nature of chriſtianity, that if they were ignorant of their duty to the Deity, it is evident they were acquainted with that to their fellow men.

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The deſcription which we can give of their religion muſt neceſſarily be imperfect, as all the fragments remaining reſpecting it has been given us by the Grecians. Warped as they were with the ſuperſtition of their own country, they acknowledge, indeed, the preference to the Egyptians; but being, undoubtedly, ignorant of the eſſential principles of religion themſelves, they only give us a copious detail of ſuperſtitious rites and ceremonies, which were, perhaps, thoſe extraneous forms that were ſimilar to their own. To preſent a minute account of theſe ceremonial forms, would be trifling with the feelings of a rational mind; we ſhall, therefore, endeavour to relate thoſe conſpicuous parts of their worſhip which may afford the neceſſary clue to procure adequate information on the ſubject, and give the requiſite outlines, as it is conected with the hiſtory of that country.

We have endeavoured to trace the riſe and progreſs of idolatry; and followed the religion of the Egyptians through its different changes, till it acquired that particular mythological form, which has been termed *Idolatry*. That ſymbolical worſhip was not the effect of one age or one man, but the reſult of ſucceſſive alterations and additions, made by ingenious characters at different periods. The origin of it is attributed to Hermes, who invented the hieroglyphical characters; but it was not till ſeveral centuries had elapſed, that theſe emblems were conſidered as a part of religion. The ſecond Hermes, who is ſaid to have recovered

the learning of the Egyptians from the oblivion into which it had fallen, was moſt probably the perſon who gave the hiſtory of their deities that fabulous appearance in which the Greeks found them.

The different names which thoſe deities received, appear to have been owing to the ſucceſſive alterations made by different men, in order to accommodate their honours to ſome of their great characters or virtuous kings. The relation of their Gods coming down to the earth, and aſſuming the character and ſhape of various animals, would ſeem nothing more than their great men being deified, who had conduced to make mankind comfortable and happy. Thus, Oſiris, who was worſhipped both under the ſymbols of the Sun and of the ox, no doubt, received theſe emblematic characters, owing to his being the inventor of agriculture; as the labours of cultivation would have been ineffectual without the genial influence of the ſun, to exhauſt the moiſture from the inundated lands, and to vivify the tender plants; and without the aſſiſtance of the ox, he could not have turned up the ſoil, and harrowed out the fields, to prepare them for the reception of ſeed. Jupiter Ammon, Mendes, Menes, Pan, Vulcan,* &c. are, no doubt, different names only for the ſame deity, and which were wor-

* The worſhip of the king of Egypt, who was called Vulcan, and of fire under his name, was owing, as they ſay, to an extraordinary accident; a wood happened to be ſet on fire by lightning in the winter, and the king ſtanding by it, perceived

ſhipped under various names and ſhapes in different places. Iſis, or the moon, being the wife of Oſiris, is generally aſſociated with that deity; but the various names of Diana, Juno, Ceres, &c. are, moſt probably, fabulous accounts of the ſame perſon, named ſo in different countries, brought together and afterwards branched out by the prolific genius of ſome fabuliſt or poet.

The evil genius being repreſented by Typhon aroſe from his being the murderer of Oſiris, whoſe beneficent inventions rendered his memory ſo famous. With reſpect to the amours of the Gods, and births of the deities, we may diſcover, under this fiction, the lewdneſs and debauchery of kings, great characters, and their relations, who had poets to invent abſurdities of this kind, whereby the diſhonour of theſe deeds might not injure their reputation.* The two orders

that it gave a great pleaſure to enjoy the warmth of it, and took care to continue the uſe of fire, which we may ſuppoſe till that time was unknown. POCOCKE,

* Of this nature was the fable of Semele and Bachus, not to mention ſeveral others, from the accounts we have of their own authors; and deities, which, in the idea of the heathens, ſubſiſted before, were made to be born long after. For the ſame purpoſe the Greek Hercules was ſuppoſed to be begotten by Jupiter on Alcmana, to cover her adultry, when ſhe brought forth a ſon at an improper time, during the abſence of her huſband Amphitryo in the wars. The lewdneſs of Io, daughter of Inachus, king of the Argives, is another inſtance of this kind, who proving with child by a mariner, and, it is ſaid, going into Egypt in a ſhip that

of Gods mentioned by Diodorus, which were celeſtial and terreſtrial, were, moſt probably, only thoſe characteriſtic differences of higher and lower claſſes of great men, which would admit of ſuch various modifications as their deeds, inventions, or improvements might lay claim to; or, indeed, might be thoſe diſtinctions of character that were dignified, ſome by the names of the ſun, moon, planetary orbs; and the different elements, ſuch as air, water, fire, and earth; and the others by the inferior parts of nature.

Among the various orders and ranks of deities, Oſiris and Iſis were the moſt generally eſteemed and worſhipped in Egypt; as from the ſun and moon, which they repreſented, were derived all the gifts of nature. Theſe two planets being the moſt obvious luminaries, it was natural for a ſuperſtitious people to view them as divinities. In the beautiful hymn of Martian Capella, which he compoſed in honour of the father of day, the following lines evince that the Sun has been generally worſhipped as the chief of the heathen deities.——

Eye of the world, brilliant torch of Olympus;
Latium calls thee the Sun, for, after thy author,
Thou art the ſplendid cauſe of light. The Nile calls thee Seraphis;
And Memphis adores thee under the title of Oſiris.

had a bull painted on it, all that ſtory of her being transformed into an heifer, and of the loves of Jupiter, was invented, and that ſhe went into Egypt and there recovered her firſt ſhape, and was married to Oſiris. POCOCKE.

In the character of Iſis they ſometimes repreſented the ſupreme Deity; ſometimes He was alſo denoted by the ſymbol of Oſiris, Serapis, and Neith. In the temple of Saïs, the following remarkable inſcription was placed, which implied, evidently, that the fantaſtic figures of men, animals, and plants, were only ſymbolical: "I am all that has exiſted, does exiſt, and ever ſhall exiſt, and my veil no mortal hath yet uncovered." In the temple of Canopus, there was alſo another inſcription dedicated to Iſis, which implied "To thee, who, being one, art all things, the goddeſs Iſis." Plutarch relates, that the inhabitants of the Thebais worſhipped only the immortal God, under the names of Ptha,* Neith, and Cneph, by which different appellations, the power, the wiſdom, and the goodneſs of the Deity are denoted. They repreſented the author of nature only by ſymbols, not by the means of living animals, as they did throughout lower Egypt; they therefore claimed an exemption from contributing to the maintenance of thoſe ſacred animals, that were kept elſewhere.

When the inventive faculties of men had free ſcope in Egypt, whereby they might uſe and ſpeculate upon ſigns and ſymbols of worſhip, they ultimately became ſo numerous that ſeveral nomes were entirely ignorant of thoſe made uſe of in others. The animals that

* The word made uſe of by the Copts of the preſent day, to ſignify the Divine Being, is Ptha. A.

were conſecrated as emblems, were likewiſe various in different provinces. Theſe circumſtances, and that diverſity of worſhip, occaſioned frequent diſputes, which were productive of intollerance and all its train of evil conſequences. They reſembled in their conduct thoſe fooliſh bigots who drenched their country in oceans of blood, on account of the ſhape of a cowl, the colour of a ſurplice, or even the manner of ſhaving their beards. Partial quarrels were ſucceeded by open ruptures, till populous and otherwiſe happy provinces were deprived of half their inhabitants.

Thoſe provinces that were moſt inveterate againſt each other were generally the richeſt and the moſt populous. The inhabitants of Heracleopolis, ſituated near the lake Menzale, in the Delta, and thoſe of Arſinoe correſponding to what is now called the province of Fayoum, were particularly intollerant towards each other. The former worſhipped the ichneumon as an animal which deſtroyed the eggs of the crocodile, and freed their country of animals of a noxious nature; and the latter eſteemed the crocodile in conſequence of its ſymbolical repreſentation of the Deity, as having no tongue, an organ that God has no occaſion for. The city of Oxyrynchus, which ſtood where Abou-Girge is now ſituated, and Cynopolis, were likewiſe at religious variance with each other, on account of the former ſacrificing and eating dogs which the latter worſhipped, and the latter eating the particular fiſh which the former held in veneration. Other

towns and provinces were under ſimilar circumſtances; therefore it has been plauſibly conjectured, that the tyranical kings which latterly reigned in that country, ſowed theſe ſeeds of diſſenſion, and afterwards encouraged and fomented theſe religious diviſions, for the purpoſe of diverting the ſeditious animoſities of the people from being directed againſt the ſtate.†

From what we have ſaid of the Egyptian religion, it will be perceived what a material change it underwent from their commencement as a nation till the period alluded to. All the accounts which have been given by various authors muſt, no doubt, be underſtood as relating to different periods of time; and though we have no documents to enable us to mention the particular time when ſuch alterations took

† Diodorus relates, that the Egyptians were naturally prone to ſedition; and he adds, that a wiſe and prudent prince inculcated a different mode of worſhip, by introducing ſymbols and animals, in different provinces, by means of his emiſſaries, and ſo divided them into diſtinct ſocieties, which prejudiced them againſt each other; and when once they were divided by religious animoſities, they mutually deſpiſed each other, and would never again cordially unite. Whatever Diodorus might think of the wiſdom and prudence of the king alluded to, in ſetting theſe people together by the ears, we think ſuch an action the ſtrongeſt proof of his imbecility, tyranny, and wickedneſs. The people, indeed, may have been brave and honeſt, but they muſt have been ſhamefully credulous to ſuffer their underſtandings to be ſo enſlaved, by ſuch machinations. A.

place, yet the principal of them ſhall be taken notice of occaſionally afterwards. As it would be more tedious than informing to relate the fabulous and traditionary tales of their heroes and deities, we ſhall now ſuccinctly deſcribe their moſt material

SYMBOLS, SACRIFICES, FESTIVALS, AND RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES.

In doing this, it will be underſtood that theſe inſtitutions prevailed principally about the time of Herodotus, though ſome of them are related by different Greek writers to have exiſted at a much earlier date. However, their inaccuracy with reſpect to dates, prevents us from being particular.

Oſiris, the firſt of their divinities, was principally repreſented under the form of a bull, or ox; hence, aroſe the conſecration of a living animal of that ſpecies at Memphis, and at Heliopolis. That which was kept at the former of theſe places was called *Apis*, and by the Greeks, *Epaphus*. They thought it neceſſary that this ſacred animal ſhould be impregnated by a cow, that was incapable of again bearing, and which they imagined was effected by means of thunder.* He was to be diſtinguiſhed by having a ſquare

* Both Pliny and Herodotus muſt be miſtaken in their belief of the efficacy of thunder reſpecting the impregnation of the cow, as thunder is never heard in Egypt. In this reſpect, no doubt, as well as others, they muſt have taken this fable from ſome ſimilar fiction, propagated among the Grecians and Romans.

white ſpot on his forehead, and to be otherwiſe altogether black, except the figure of an eagle impreſſed on his back; he was alſo to have a large quantity of hair on his tail, more than the generality had, and a knot like a beetle under his tongue. Ælian mentions, that no leſs that twenty-nine marks were ſometimes ſeen upon this ſacred Apis.

Before this ſymbol of Oſiris, bulls were ſacrificed; in the choice of which they were ſo particular, that if a ſingle diſfigured hair, not correſponding with the colour of the animal, was diſcovered, he was deemed impure for that purpoſe. When this precaution was overcome, the prieſt proceeded to the ſacrifice. The animal's tongue was torn out and examined if it was free from blemiſhes, and if the tail was perfect in all its parts.† He then tied a branch of the byblus plant round his horns; on his forehead a piece of clay was attached, and was impreſſed with his ſeal, which was conſidered ſo important that it was eſteemed a capital offence to ſacrifice a bull without being ſo marked. The deſtined animal being brought to the altar, a

† Our readers may diſcover a ſtriking analogy betwixt the ſacrifices of the Jews and the ancient Egyptians: In this inſtance the ſacred ordinances of the Jews and them correſpond, in 9 chap. of Numbers.—"Bid the children of Iſrael bring a red heifer without defect or blemiſh, and which hath never borne the yoke; and give her to Eleazar the prieſt; who ſhall bring her out without the camp, and cauſe her to be ſlaughtered in his preſence."

fire was kindled, and a libation of wine was poured out; the god was then solemnly invoked, and the victim was sacrificed. The head was separated from the body, and the carcase was skinned: after which the head was loaded with imprecations, then sold to the Grecians (or, no doubt, any foreigners) if they had an opportunity; but if no purchaser was to be met with, they threw it into the river, with the following exclamation:—"May all the evils which menace the persons now sacrificing, fall upon this devoted head."† It is observed by Herodotus, that this method of sacrifice, and of devoting the head of the victim, was general throughout Egypt; but their examination of the animals, and the ceremony of burning, was varied in different parts of that country.—It may be added, thatthe consecrated bull which was kept at Heliopolis, and was entitled *Mnevis*, differed from that at Memphis, only in being altogether black; and Plutarch relates, that he was venerated with less pomp.

On the death of the Egyptian Apis, a general lamentation prevailed, as for a terrible calamity. After the interment of the animal, and another calf with similar marks, and of a similar description, was

† The same resemblance is again here to be discovered as above:—"And Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions, putting them upon the head of the goat. Leviticus chap. 16. v. 21." A.

found, their mourning was again converted into joy. The ſacred calf was led to the city called the Nile, where he was fed for forty days, and from thence conveyed in a veſſel, with a gilded cabin, to the city of Memphis (or Heliopolis), where he was turned into a rich incloſure, called *the grove of Vulcan.* The women were here permitted to viſit the *conſecrated calf*, where ſome ceremonies of a moſt indecent nature were practiſed, and thoſe parts expoſed, which nature enjoins ſhould be concealed.

The ſymbols of Oſiris were, likewiſe, the ſceptre and eye, thereby expreſſing his omniſcience and his power. A hawk, a crocodile, a ſerpent, &c. are aſcribed as emblems of his various attributes; ſome authors alſo aſſert, that the Mendeſian goat, and the ram of Dioſpolis or Thebes, were only various ſymbols uſed by theſe people as proper repreſentatives for his worſhip. His wife Iſis, whom they eſteemed as the moon, or the female part of nature, had as many ſymbols in her worſhip as Oſiris. She was uſually repreſented by the figure of a woman, with the horns of a cow extended, thereby implying the increaſe and wane of the moon. She generally had a ſiſtrum or ſymbal in her right hand, with a pitcher in her left, intimating by the one the perpetual changes in nature, and by the other the fecundity of the Nile. She has alſo, ſometimes, been repreſented as *Cybele*, with a body full of breaſts, in order to expreſs her univerſal beneficence in nouriſhing nature.

The goddeſs Iſis, which was next in eſteem to Oſiris, is ſaid by Herodotus, to have been honoured with the greateſt feſtival of any of the Egyptian deities. Like the ſacrifices to Oſiris, an ox was the victim offered up, but was celebrated with greater pomp. They ſtripped off the animal's ſkin, extracted the inteſtines, leaving the paunch and the fat, and after the head, ſhoulders, legs, and extremities of the loin were taken away, the body was ſtuffed with fine bread, frankincenſe, myrrh, and various aromatics. The next proceſs which they adopted, was to burn the victim, pouring out at the ſame time a libation of oil, to increaſe the conflagration; and, during the ceremony, the ſurrounding multitude, with punctilious devotion, endeavoured as much as poſſible to inflict pain upon themſelves, by flagellation.* Before this laſt part of the ceremony was performed, they had faſted for ſome time; but to make up for this voluntary penance,

* Mr Gibbon ſays, of the civil law, that he who cannot pay with his purſe, muſt pay with his perſon; ſo it appears, in ancient times, that the poorer ſinners who could not afford an ox in ſacrifice, took penny worths on their ſkins. That practice, which originated in the dark ages of barbariſm, ſeems to have been adopted by moſt people, whoſe minds were overrun by the gloom of ſuperſtition, in after ages. The thirteenth century, according to Moſheim, was the æra of its introduction into a chriſtian church, and was, perhaps, procured from the orientals among the other REFINEMENTS introduced by the unſucceſsful cruſaders, and adopted by the monks, as a painful equivalent for not granting them their pecuniary demands. A.

the immolated ox (or probably ſeveral) was devoured by the pilgrims.

Thoſe victims which were ſelected for ſacrifices, were bulls without blemiſhes, whether young or old, as the females of this ſpecies were ſacred to Iſis. On account of their veneration for cows, they would neither aſſociate with the Grecians, nor handle any utenſil that was previouſly uſed by them, as that people eat the fleſh of the animal.† When any of theſe cattle died, if female, they were thrown into the river, but males were buried in the vicinity of the city; and in order to aſcertain the place where the ſacred animal was interred, the horns were left projecting from the ground. At particular and ſtated periods, a veſſel was regularly diſpatched from Proſopitis, an iſland in ſome lake of the Delta, perhaps either lake Bourlos or Menzale, from whence, as they ſailed up and down the river, the bones were collected from the towns on each ſide of the Nile, and were depoſited in ſome conſecrated ground, appropriated for that particular purpoſe. All the different ſpecies of the ſacred animals had, likewiſe, veſſels appointed for ſimilar purpoſes, to collect their bones.

† That the Egyptians would not eat with ſtrangers appears from the following paſſage in Geneſis, chap. 43. v. 32. "And they ſerved up a dinner for him, by himſelf; for them, by themſelves; and for the Egyptians who eat with him, by themſelves; for the Egyptians might not eat a meal with Hebrews, that would be an abomination to Egyptians. DELEN.

Serapis was a deity that bore a reſemblance to that of Oſiris, and appears to have derived his origin from the conſecration of Apis, or the bull. There was a temple appropriated for his worſhip in Egypt, and had many votaries; but it is probable, that his worſhip was introduced among thoſe diviſions created under the Ptolomies, which diſtracted the peace of Egypt, and was a ſect that branched from the original ſtock. The ſtatue of this divinity was of a human form, with a baſket on his head, ſignifying plenty; his right hand leaning on the head of a ſerpent, which had its body wound round a figure with three heads, which induces ſome to ſuppoſe that Serapis was to the Egyptians, what Pluto (the ſovereign of hell) was to the Grecians. The three heads were thoſe of a dog, a lion, and a wolf. In his left hand, he held a meaſure of a cubit long, implying the god which influenced the riſing of the waters of the Nile.*

* The magnificent temple which was built to the god Serapis, by the Ptolomies, was, for grandeur, the beauty of its ornaments, the majeſty of its architecture, to be compared to the capitol; and the feſtivals they eſtabliſhed, the brilliant ceremonies they inſtituted, attracted the veneration of the people. Serapis became the god of the court, and made the Egyptians almoſt forget their ancient deities. The provinces emulated each other in building temples after its model, and of offering incenſe on their altars.

SAVARY.

Savary takes conſiderable pains to eſtabliſh the opinion that there were two deities called Serapis, the one celeſtial, and the

The worſhip of Jupiter at Thebes, diſtinguiſhed frequently by the name of Ammon, is ſaid, with great probability, by Herodotus, to have been the ſame with Oſiris and Iſis, in the other diſtricts of Egypt. The ram was worſhipped on that deity's account at Thebes, and ſheep were conſequently looked upon as conſecrated animals. Goats were frequently offered up in ſacrifice; but, at the feſtival of Jupiter, a ram was the annual victim. At that ſolemnity, when the animal was dead, his carcaſe was ſkinned and placed upon the ſtatue of the deity, and the figure of Hercules was introduced;† after

other terreſtrial. The former of theſe he ſuppoſes to have been a ſymbol of the ſun in the autumnal ſigns, and the latter as an emblem of the increaſe of the Nile. Such a diſtinction ſeems abſurd, as the emblem of the ſun in the autumnal months, muſt neceſſarily be that of the increaſe of the Nile, at the ſame time.

A

† We are informed by Herodotus, that Hercules was one of the twelve great gods in Egypt, and which he thinks was communicated from thence to Greece.—Why the Thebans (ſays he), and all who are under their influence, abſtain from ſheep, is thus explained: Jupiter, ſay the Thebans, was long averſe to the long ſolicitations of Hercules to ſee his perſon; but, in conſequence of his repeated importunities, the god in compliance uſed the following artifice: he cut off the head of a ram, and covering himſelf with its ſkin, ſhewed himſelf in that form to Hercules: from this incident, the Egyptian ſtatues of Jupiter repreſent that divinity with the head of a ram. HERODOTUS.

which, each of the aſſembly gave the dead ram a ſtroke, and the ceremony was concluded, by incloſing the body in a conſecrated cheſt. Thebes, from this mode of worſhip, was called Dioſpolis, or the city of Jupiter.—From this city proceeded that colony of Egyptian prieſts, who erected a temple to Jupiter Ammon in the deſarts of Lybia; from whence oracles were diſpenſed to thoſe devotees who might viſit them. This temple was particularly celebrated in ancient times, and it was from this ſource that Alexander received that reſponſe, which induced him to imagine that he was deſcended from Lybian Jove. Ancient travellers have left, however, ſo few particulars reſpecting its ſituation, that modern geographers are at a loſs where this place is to be found. Mr Brown, a late Engliſh traveller, made an expedition into Lybia, with the view of aſcertaining this object, but was unſucceſsful. It is ſaid to have been ſurrounded with deſarts, but particularly fertile where the temple ſtood.

[Upon this ceremony of Herculus' ſtatue being brought during the ſacrifice of a ram, it is obſerved by Proclus, that as Ammon was an emblem of the ſun, ſo Hercules being the ſymbol of the ſun's motion through the twelve ſigns of the zodiack, alluding to the twelve labours of that hero, the feſtival was performed at that ſeaſon when the ſun entered the ſign of the ram. The head of that animal, likewiſe, compoſed the head of the ſtatue of Ammon, and was a ſymbol of abundance and a prolific harveſt. A.

Among the numerous diviſions of gods which were ultimately worſhipped in Egypt, the moſt famous were Pan, Anubis, Harpocrates, Orus, Canopus, Thoth, and Typhon. There is ſome propriety in the ſuppoſition that theſe different deities were only ſlight variations from the original belief, but invented by the genius of ſome prieſt, whoſe inclination led him to create a new ſymbol for himſelf, and ſo form a new ſect. We have too many proofs of the intellectual deluſion which men labour under in modern times, to doubt that men's credulity was as eaſily impoſed upon then as at preſent. When a man's imagination is deeply impreſſed with religious enthuſiaſm, his reaſon is altogether aſleep; and, however abſurd and fantaſtical the ſubject may be, the illuſion continues if he is oppoſed, and he impoſes upon the underſtanding of others with the ſame facility that he deluded himſelf. Such is the gradation of fanaticiſm; but as ſectaries are propagated from a variety of cauſes, hypocriſy, avarice, or ambition, may alſo have prompted men to accompliſh ſimilar effects by ſimilar means.

The worſhip of Pan was principally confined to Mendes, and was repreſented, like the Grecian deity of that name, by the ſymbol of the goat, and particularly the face and legs of that animal. Their ſacrifices were, however, offered in ſheep. It is alleged with great probability by ſome authors, that this deity was ſuppoſed to be the cauſe of the generative virtue

and of fruitfulneſs, and was figurative of the ſun being in that part of the zodiac when the fruits of the earth were reaped in abundance.—Anubis was uſually painted with the head of a dog, as he accompanied Oſiris in his expedition, was the principal protector of him and Iſis, and was therefore the emblem of ſagacity and watchfulneſs. It was from this circumſtance that the dog became conſecrated in Egypt, which was alſo expreſſive of a certain ſtar that appeared in the horizon regularly preceding the inundation.—Harpocrates was the god of ſilence, and uſually repreſented with his finger on his mouth, intimating, ſay ſome authors, that as Oſiris and Iſis were his parents, their terreſtrial original was an improper ſubject of converſation. There is greater probability, however, that, being a ſtill-born child, he was a proper emblem of the ſun in the ſolſtice, the only ſeaſon in which nature is dead.—Orus, or Horus, is frequently confounded with Apollo, and was the ſon of Oſiris and Iſis. He is ſometimes repreſented like a child in ſwaddling clothes, though oftener under the figure of a hawk or eagle, borne on lions. It is ſuppoſed, likewiſe, that the ſphynxes were characteriſtic of Horus, and that theſe various emblems repreſented the ſtar of day paſſing through the ſigns of the ſpring into Leo.*—Canopus is a deity that ſeems to have been

* The principal traits of this emblem which are wrapt in fable are the following: That he was the ſon of Oſiris and Iſis; that

only introduced at a late period of the Egyptian history, perhaps under the Ptolomies. Some authors have urged, that his worship arose from the pilot of Menelaus having loft his life upon the coaft of Egypt by the bite of a viper, and that the hero erected a tomb to his memory, which was afterwards converted into a magnificent temple. Others give this divinity a higher date, and attribute Canopus to have been the pilot of Oſiris's ſhip; and indeed the fixed ſtar which goes by that name, and one of the firſt magnitude, but not ſeen in Europe, ſeems perfectly

Typhon, after killing his brother Oſiris, took poſſeſſion of the kingdom; and that Horus, leaguing himſelf with Iſis, avenged the death of his father, expelled the tyrant from his throne, without depriving him of life, and reigned glorioufly in Egypt. A perſon who has travelled ever ſo little in Egypt, eaſily diſcovers natural phenomena, hid under the veil of fable. In the ſpring, the wind Khampſin frequently makes great ravages there. It raiſes whirlwinds of burning ſands, which ſuffocate travellers, darken the air, and cover the face of the ſun in ſuch a manner, as to leave the earth in perfect obſcurity. Here is the death of Oſiris, and the reign of Typhon. Theſe hurricanes break looſe uſually in the months of February, March, and April. When the ſun approaches the ſign of the Lion, he changes the ſtate of the atmoſphere, diſperſes thoſe tempeſts, and reſtores the northerly winds, which drive before them the malignant vapours, and preſerve coolneſs and ſalubrity under a burning ſky. This is the triumph of Horus over Typhon, and his glorious reign. As the natural philoſophers acknowledge the influence of the moon over the ſtate of the atmoſphere, they united her with this god, to drive the uſurper from the throne. SAVARY.

corresponding to the properties of the pilot.—Thoth, who goes by the different names of Mercury and Hermes, of all the plants, animals, or men, who were consecrated, seems among the best entitled to divine honours. Being the inventor of hieroglyphics and letters, and the founder of the sciences, his gifts were of the most eminent and beneficent nature. The hieroglyphic emblem of him was a pillar or obelisk, implying these original monuments to be of his invention. His memory was venerated as a deity, though no temple was erected, nor any mode of worship or sacrifice adopted by the Egyptians, to perpetuate his honor or their gratitude.

But of all the modes of worship, the acts of religious sacrifices, that resulted from the ignorance, the sanctimonious hypocrisy, or the superstition of the dark ages of barbarism, that of paying worship to a being whom they imagined to preside over Evil, seems the most prepostrous. The principle of the Egyptian religion seems to have had its existence from the grateful acts of homage which were paid to great and virtuous characters after their death, and which they at length converted into beneficent deities presiding over the affairs of men, receiving thanksgivings and offerings, and interceding as mediators before the Deity. The worship of Typhon, however, arose from a belief that the evil genius was labouring incessantly to counteract the happiness of mankind, and must have derived its origin from a vicious and debased state of soci-

ety, when tyranny and moral turpitude preponderated in the ſcale. Such a deity was rather deprecated and feared, than adored and venerated. They ſtrove to appeaſe his malignant genius by artifices, and it is probable that human ſacrifices might be offered by ſome part of ſociety to mollify his malevolence; but it is ſaid that when theſe acts of worſhip were found ineffectual, and their calamities, which were always imputed to him, continued, ſuch acts of homage ceaſed, and they then inſulted his image.*

This contraſt to the general character of the Egyptian theology, is ſaid to have given riſe to the general belief of, or rather propenſity to believe, the activity of the *evil genius*, in ſeeking whom he may injure and deſtroy throughout the world. The ſymbols of the hippopotamus and the aſs, on account of their duſky colour, were the general repreſentations of the evil principle, or Typhon, in Egypt. It is probable, likewiſe, that the crocodile, notwithſtanding what ſome of the ancient writers attribute as emblems expreſſed by this voracious animal, and which was conſecrated in

* On certain feſtivals they loaded him with opprobrious terms, abuſed him with invectives, and ſtruck his ſtatue. If any extraordinary heats happened, which occaſioned peſtilential diſorders or other calamities, the prieſts, holding Typhon in horror, conducted into ſome gloomy place one of the animals dedicated to him. Firſt, they tried to terrify him by menaces, and if the contagion did not ceaſe, they ſacrificed him to the public vengeance.

PLUTARCH.

Arſinoe, was ſacred to Typhon; as that amphibious creature carries terror in its very look, and as that province was hated by the reſt of the Egyptians, on account of that very animal being worſhipped.

Herodotus relates an account of two ſtatues that were placed in the temple of Vulcan at Memphis, one of which, called Summer, looked to the north, was adored by the Egyptians, and honoured with marks of reſpect and gratitude; the other, which faced the ſouth, and was called Winter, was reprobated and held in deteſtation. It appears, from this account, that Typhon was the deity repreſented by the ſtatue that looked towards the ſouth, and which incurred their diſpleaſure on ſome occaſions to ſuch a degree, that it was frequently abuſed and ſcourged. Such were the ſentiments that prevailed reſpecting the evil genius; but there is no doubt that ſuch a belief originated, from ſome terrific emblem implying the calamities that reſulted from the ſoutherly winds, which carry in their boſom ſuch deſtructive conſequences, and perhaps received that name from the giant Typhon being firſt uſed in poetical fiction.

The worſhip of Typhon ſeems to have prevailed in various ſhapes throughout Egypt, beſide Memphis and Arſinoe. That cruel and abſurd practice of flagellation, and cutting themſelves with ſharp inſtruments, would appear to be uniform with the dark and diſmal ſuperſtition of flogging a ſtatue, or of worſhipping a terrific animal. That people called the

Carians, who aſſiſted Pſammeticus to ſubdue the eleven kings, were probably thoſe who introduced that mode of diſfiguring themſelves; as Herodotus ſays, that they ſurpaſſed all others in cutting their foreheads with ſwords.

What appears remarkable in the religion of the Egyptians, is, their extraordinary veneration of the people for whatever they worſhipped. The anecdote of the Roman ſoldier killing a cat at Alexandria, is a proof of this implicit reſpect; but nothing is a greater confirmation of the circumſtance, than their feſtivals and ſacrifices, particularly thoſe which occurred annually.

At the time of the full moon, and to the memory of Bacchus, there were hogs ſacrificed, though that animal was deemed impure at every other time; and thoſe whoſe poverty prevented them from purchaſing one, moulded the ſhape of one in paſte, which was offered up; and it was eſteemed not only as a mark of diſreſpect, but even ſacrilege, to diſpenſe with either the one or the other. To Diana, which was worſhipped at Bubaſtis; to Minerva, at Sais; to the Sun, at Heliopolis; to Latona, at Butos; and to Mars, at Papremis, were ſacrifices and feſtivals celebrated. At Butos and Heliopolis, ſacrifices were only ſolemnized; but, at the other places, the pomp of both theſe religious ceremonies was ſo extreme, as almoſt to exceed belief.

At the city of Bubaſtis, which was ſituated about

the middle of the eaſt ſide of the Delta, an annual feſtival was celebrated to Diana, where an aſſemblage of about 700,000 men, women and children regularly attended. They all embarked in boats promiſcuouſly together, the men playing on the pipe, and the women on the tabor; whilſt thoſe who had none of theſe inſtruments, either ſung, or beat time, by clapping their hands together. During the voyage, they ſtopped at every city of conſequence, where they entertained themſelves by ſinging, dancing, and other vulgar amuſements; and when they had arrived at the temple, their ſacrifices were performed, which were very numerous; and the whole was concluded by partaking of a ſplendid feaſt, and ſupplying themſelves with plentiful libations of wine, more of which was drank on that occaſion than throughout the remainder of the year.

When the ſacrifice of Minerva was ſolemnized at Sais, which was ſituated on the weſt ſide of the Delta, nearly oppoſite to Bubaſtis, it was held at night. Upon this occaſion, not only thoſe who arrived at the temple, but the people throughout the whole of Egypt, ſuſpended lamps before their houſes, which were filled with oil, mixed with ſalt.* At the top of the oil the wick floated, which burned during the night; and, by

* Salt was conſtantly uſed at all entertainments, both of the gods and men, whence a particular ſanctity was believed to be lodged in it: It is hence called divine ſalt by Homer.

POTTER.

way of diſtinction, this ſolemnity was denominated the *feſtival of lamps*.†

The worſhip performed at Papremis, in the temple of Mars, appears, among all the ſuperſtitions practiſed in that country, the moſt abſurd and ridiculous. After the victims were offered, and ſeveral religious ceremonies performed, a few of the prieſts, towards the cloſe of the day, who were in waiting upon the deity, were joined by a number of men armed with clubs, who waited at the entrance of the temple, till they were attacked by a tumultuous mob demanding admittance, to perform their religious vows. The ſtatue of the god was previouſly removed to a different apartment, and incloſed in a ſmall caſe decorated with gold. The prieſts in waiting, when in the act of removing this ſtatue on a four-wheeled carriage, were prevented by thoſe who placed themſelves at the entrance; but the tumultuous mobility

† This feaſt, which much reſembles the feaſt of lamps, obſerved from time immemorial in China, ſeems to confirm the opinion of M. de Guignes, who has been the firſt to intimate that China was a colony from Egypt. LARCHER.

In Egypt there is no rejoicing, no feſtival on any conſideration at all, unaccompanied with illumination. For this purpoſe they make uſe of earthen lamps, which they put into very deep veſſels of glaſs, in ſuch a manner, as that the glaſs is two thirds, or at leaſt one half, of its height higher than the lamp, in order to preſerve the light, and prevent its extinction by the wind. The Egyptians have carried this art to the higheſt pitch. MAILLET.

above alluded to, came to his succour, upon which a combat ensued, which did not cease till the opposite party were subdued. Herodotus remarks, that the violence with which both parties used their weapons, left little room to doubt but several must have been dangerously wounded, if not killed; though the Egyptians asserted that none sustained any injury.

This ridiculous conclusion of the festival of Mars was said to have owed its origin to a circumstance still as ridiculous. The temple being the residence of the god's mother, when having arrived from a distance where he was educated, and being refused admittance on his arrival, he procured assistance, and chastised those who had opposed him; which was perpetuated by a festival instituted in his memory. Such a fable was only sufficient for children to have propagated; however, it may have originated from some hero (which Mars, as being the Grecian god of war, is represented to be) having protected their country, or performed some signal service which was entitled to veneration, and was overlooked and neglected during his life time.

The ambiguous nature of many of the Egyptian emblems sets modern speculation at defiance. The only alternative left for the historian to adopt, is to rescue them, if possible, from improbability. In doing this we may have departed from the straight road of narration, but we have endeavoured to render our subject intelligible, without which our labours would

be useless and unnecessary. In the subject before us, it will be perceived that a curious connection has subsisted between the different religions of all surrounding nations and Egypt; and that that country has given rise to almost all the superstitions that have pervaded, not only the ancient world, but a great part of modern Europe, and of Asia. Their emblems were, at one time, undoubtedly simple and easily understood, but when the priesthood cloathed their language in mystery, and wrote their characters in a form unintelligible to the people, their religion would, of consequence, assume the shape of superstition, and their worship put on the garb of idolatry. Tyranny would naturally perpetuate that form of worship which was most congenial to its nature; and hence arose that degraded state of intellectual acquirements during the reign of the Ptolomies, particularly respecting religion.

Those animals that were at first considered as emblems, became, in reality, the objects of their adoration; and the laws were brought in to assist this detestable debasement of the human mind. The preposterous worship paid to the cat, the ichneumon, the ibis, the wolf, the dog, the crocodile, &c. rendered them even sacred after they were dead. The laws were so hemmed in by proscriptions and penalties, that it was considered not only as a capital crime to kill an animal of the species that was consecrated, but the life of the man depended upon the mercy of

the prieſthood, if it was even done by accident. Whoever the perſon was that killed a cat, a hawk, or an ibis, whether or not it was voluntary, was doomed to die. If any of theſe animals were found dead by chance, the unfortunate perſon who met firſt with it was obliged to be fixed to the ſpot, deploring the death of the ſacred beaſt, till he was relieved from his ſituation by ſome of the prieſts, to whom he was obliged ſolemnly to proteſt that it was found ſo. And, what may ſeem ſtill more remarkable, that, during one year when the Nile withheld her prolific ſtreams, which occaſioned a famine, the people, though drove to the neceſſity of feeding on human fleſh, were not, in a ſingle inſtance, known to tranſgreſs upon thoſe animals that were conſecrated.

The worſhip paid theſe animals was even more extravagant than the deities, of which they were formerly only conſidered as emblems. The apologiſts for this ſuperſtition will, indeed, argue that it was out of veneration for the deity, or the virtue they repreſented, that this reſpect was paid. But, however politic it might be in the prieſthood to ſuffer this veneration of the people to be beſtowed on theſe animals, it was moſt certainly not only improper, but criminal to withhold the neceſſary information that they were emblems, and for what purpoſe. However, the prieſts muſt be allowed not only to be tyrants, but tyrants of the moſt nefarious order, in enſlaving the minds of the people to the moſt ſuperſtitious abſurdities and inconſiſtent fooleries.

Whilſt theſe animals were living, they were maintained in the moſt ſumptuous manner, and at the public expence. It was eſteemed an honourable office to be employed in feeding and rearing them; and thoſe keepers were ſo diſtinguiſhed by certain badges, that the people, upon ſeeing them, ſaluted them as they paſſed by bending the knee, and other marks of reſpect. To what length ſuperſtition may be extended, is evinced in the conduct of the people to the keeper of a dog kennel, or a poultry cage, when it is conſidered, that theſe people who were the catererers for a dog, a cat, or an ibis, were likewiſe viewed as ſacred. The inhabitants of thoſe places where theſe animals were worſhipped, offered up their prayers for the ſacred keeper, as well as for the ſacred brood.

They were not ſatisfied with only providing for their wants and neceſſities, but thoſe kept in the principal cities were diſtinguiſhed by being maintained in conſecrated ground, attended by the nobility of the country, and fed on the moſt ſumptuous dainties. They were waſhed regularly in the hot-baths, rubbed with the moſt coſtly ointments, and perfumed with the moſt oderiferous aromatics. And that nothing might be deficient in rendering their felicity complete, their reſidence was decorated with the richeſt carpets and the moſt coſtly furniture; the moſt beautiful females of the ſpecies were ſelected for their uſe, which were entitled their concubines; and their attendance

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and expence was equal, if not ſuperior to the palace of the king.

When any of them died, the expence of interment was of a piece with their ſumptuous proviſion during life. Diodorus relates, that the keepers of ſome of theſe ſacred animals ſometimes expended about 100 talents upon their maintenance, which would amount to nearly 26,000l.; and in the inſtance of the Apis which died at Memphis, in the reign of Ptolomy, the ſon of Lagus, his funeral coſt a ſum of no leſs than 50 talents, which nearly amounts to 13,000l. When a cat or dog died belonging to a family, they ſhewed the greateſt marks of ſorrow for their death. If it happened to be the former, they ſhaved their eye-brows; but if the latter, their whole body; and for ſeveral days they faſted and prayed. In caſe of fires, they took greater pains to preſerve their cats, than their furniture or their houſes; and in embalming their dead bodies, ſimilar coſtly preparations were uſed, to preſerve them from putrefaction, as upon their friends or relations.*

* Dead cats were carried to be interred to the city of Bubaſtis; hawks, and the venemous mole, were carried to Butos; dogs, bears (of theſe are but few in Egypt†), and a ſmall kind of

† Only one or two ancient writers mention bears being found in Egypt, and as it is ſo hot a country, it is probable they have been miſtaken. A.

The bear is ſaid to have had his burial place in the city of Papremis; but in the reſt of Egypt, according to Herodotus, who adds, that this animal is there ſcarce, he was buried in the place

Among the other animals that were worſhipped in Egypt, Herodotus relates an account of that extraor-

wolves, no bigger than foxes, were buried when they were found dead. And in performing this laſt honor to them, the Egyptians were ſo exact, that when they had been abroad in foreign wars, they frequently brought home dead cats and hawks along with them for that purpoſe, with great demonſtrations of ſorrow, though at the ſame time they often wanted neceſſaries.

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in which he was found dead. Pliny, however, aſſerts, that there are no bears in Egypt. But for the teſtimonies, ancient and modern, which appear poſitive, I ſhould incline to the opinion of that celebrated and elegant hiſtorian of nature, and ſuppoſe that travellers might at a diſtance have taken hyænas for bears. In fact, how can it be conceived that an animal, whoſe thick fur ſufficiently indicates him to be indigenous in cold climates, who delights in mountains and umbrageous foreſts, ſhould be equally habituated to live in ſandy and open plains, heated and parched up by a burning ſun, and in which he could find no means of ſubſiſtence? Of the two exiſting races of bears, the black and the red, the former could not live in ſolitude, that would afford him neither thick foreſts, fruits, roots, nor ſeeds, which are the food of this ſpecies. If, on the contrary, is meant the rufous or brown bears, "found not only in Savoy, but on the high mountains, in the vaſt foreſts, and in almoſt every deſart on earth, which devour live animals, and even the moſt putrid carcaſes," can it be ſuppoſed that the mountains and deſarts of Egypt would afford them ſuitable retreats and ſuſtenance?

However ſtrong an inference may be drawn from habits, the the compariſon of which ſeldom deceives the obſerver, in regard to the conſequences that thence reſult; however convincing may be theſe ſorts of proofs in favour of Pliny's opinion, which, from what I have ſeen and read, I am inclined to adopt, it muſt nevertheleſs be admitted, that a great number of authorities ſcarcely leave a doubt of the exiſtence of bears in Africa.

The knowledge of the true ſituation of the ancient city of Papremis, where the bear was more honoured than elſewhere, would not have diſpelled my doubts, if any had remained; for, ſuppoſing it was not far diſtant from the diſtrict of Nitria, or the

dinary bird, called the Phœnix, which was ſaid to have exiſted in that country, and from which the poets and fabuliſts have derived ſo many fictions. That author had ſeen a hieroglyphical repreſentation of the bird, and the prieſts told him that it came from Arabia, and appeared in Egypt once in 500 years, after the death of its father; which, common report ſaid, was burnt, and that the young phœnix aroſe from his aſhes. It is probable that this fiction was only an emblem of ſome phenomenon of nature, which their aſtronomers calculated upon occurring once in that period of time, and perhaps it might be a comet. The painters drew the figure of this bird, with a ſplendid plumage of crimſon and gold, of the ſhape and ſize of an eagle, and in the act of flying from the fire in which the old phœnix was conſumed.

In treating thus far reſpecting the religion of the Egyptians, we have omitted mentioning any thing reſpecting the churches or temples in which their worſhip was performed. Of their maſſy ſtructure we have already obſerved. The firſt thing which offered itſelf to view, was an extenſive avenue of conſiderable breadth, having on each ſide a row of ſphynxes,

deſart of St Macarius (as Mr Paw conjectures), the ſame difficulty ſtill exiſts. In fact, among the number of animals I met with in that deſart, I did not ſee a ſingle bear. The Bedouins, accuſtomed to frequent this part of the ſolitudes of Lybia, aſſured me they had never ſeen that animal; and the Coptic monks, more dangerous in theſe forlorn and depopulated regions than the ſavage animals among whom they live, confirmed upon this point the teſtimony of the Bedouins. SONNINI.

about 20 cubits distant from each other. This avenue was generally paved with Thebaic marble, and led to a spacious portico, beyond which there were generally one or more of considerable extent, before the dome of the building was approached. In the interior of the building was the temple, which consisted of a spacious and magnificent court, and a well-proportioned chapel. In these temples the images and symbols of their deities were placed, and afterwards the consecrated animals.

Herodotus reports, that the Egyptians were the first who prohibited a communication with the sexes in a temple, which affords us a piece of intelligence not much in favour of the decency of other nations that prevailed at that period. They ordained, too, that ablution should be performed, before any should enter the temple, after such a sexual connexion.* The

* Except the Egyptians and the Greeks, all other nations without scruple connect themselves with women in their temples, nor think it necessary to wash themselves after such connection, previous to paying their devotions. In this instance they rank man indiscriminately with other animals; for, observing that birds as well as beasts copulate in shrines and temples, they conclude that it cannot be offensive to the Deity. Such a mode of reasoning does not by any means obtain my approbation.

HERODOTUS.

Mention is made of the Mossyri, called, by Apollonius Rhodius Mossyræci, who copulated in the public streets.—See XENOPHON, DIODORUS, and Others.

prieſts, however, were not always ſo punctilious in the obſervance of virtue, for it is probable that thoſe ſtories of the luſtful and amorous conduct of their deities, of which we have taken notice, were evidently fictions, to gloſs over the criminal conduct of themſelves or their patrons.

The religious inſtitutions of the Egyptians were alſo of a miſcellaneous nature. They incorporated divination among their religious cuſtoms, and afterwards adopted the practices of the Greeks, in diſpenſing oracles. They regiſtered every uncommon occurrence, and, from an obſervation of its conſequences, they calculated upon the reſult of others of a ſimilar nature. In doing this, they took great care, however, not to commit themſelves ſo far, as that an oppoſite explanation might not be given, if the event turned out foreign to their expectations. Theſe oracles, they pretended, were not performed by themſelves, but by the deities whom the people worſhipped.

After this mode of propheſying became popular, oracles became univerſal throughout the whole of

> Next by the ſacred hill their oars impel
> Firm Argo, where the Moſſyræcians dwell;
> Of manners ſtrange, for they with care conceal
> Thoſe deeds which others openly reveal;
> And actions that in ſecret ſhould be done,
> Perform in public, and before the ſun:
> For, like the monſters of the briſtly drove,
> In public they perform the feats of love.
>
> FAWKES' APOLLONIUS.

Egypt. The moſt famous, however, were thoſe of Hercules, Apollo, Minerva, Diana, Mars, and Jupiter. The temple of Latona, in the city of Butos, was ſo much the ſubject of vulgar adoration, that the oracle which was there eſtabliſhed commanded the moſt univerſal reverence. The oracle of Serapis became likewiſe very popular. But even the conſecrated animals had their reſpective oracles, which were diſpenſed by means of dumb ſhew, ſomething reſembling the nodding of the *horſe of wiſdom*, or the adroitneſs of Biſſet's *learned pig*. The Apis at Memphis was conſulted, by obſerving into which of two doors, in a certain chamber, he entered. By a certain principle laid down, the omen was favourable or unfortunate, as the animal entered either one or the other. By offering the Apis food, and from his accepting or refuſing it, the anſwer was conſtrued to be favourable or the reverſe.*

Such are the outlines of a ſyſtem of religion, the ſource of which was ſimple and unadorned. This picture of the ſuperſtition and abſurdities of man (mixed, indeed, with ſome excellent inſtitutions) affords a ſtriking proof of man's weakneſs and pride; and how futile the glory and the reaſoning of man appear, when we reflect, that the religion of a people is ſo

* It is ſaid that Germanicus Cæſar, in conſulting this oracle ſome ſhort time before his death, the beaſt would not eat out of his hand. UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

much the creature of circumſtances and of power. When firſt we behold that people emanating from the lap of nature, their religion was ſtamped with principles of reaſon and of truth. When a few centuries had elapſed, they were ſtill rational, and their emblems of worſhip were calculated for the benevolent purpoſes they were invented. A few ages poſterior to this, when the Medes and the Perſians had, with the intolerant ſpirit of fanaticiſm, overthrown their obeliſks and deſtroyed their temples, ſuperſtition began to throw her ſable mantle over their minds. On the conqueſt of Egypt by Alexander, the mythological abſurdities of Greece ſtole inſenſibly into their religion; and before Egypt was made a Roman province, idolatry, with all its train of fooleries, had uſurped the place of reaſon, religion, and truth.



CHAP. II.

The fabulous ages of ancient Egypt.—The doubtful æra of Egyptian history, which is formed into dynasties.—The probable succession of Egyptian kings—with an historical view of their early transactions, from Menes to the conclusion of the reign of Sesostris.

THE history of Egypt, in its early transactions, has hitherto been involved in fabulous uncertainty and mythological fiction. Their own historians, Sanchoniatho and Manetho, afford us little clue by which the mysterious gloom of obscurity can be unravelled. Herodotus, Strabo, and Diodorus Siculus, relate only the traditionary tales and historical exaggerations of their poets and their priests. Future attempts among the ancients are, in general, attended with similar objections, and have their narrations of early times filled with the incongruities of their predecessors. If such are the circumstances under which the relation of those otherwise respectable historians and philosophers are to be objected, who lived at so early a period, and so near the place where the events occurred, it will be asked, how much less credibility must be attached to the historian of the present day, whose sources of information are princpally derived from thence?

To the indiscriminating observer, our claim to authenticity will therefore appear to be formed of very questionable materials. But if it is recollected, that

when the Egyptian records were mutilated and destroyed, it was in the power of designing men to fabricate the moſt abſurd relations of their antiquity and their tranſactions, and ſo impoſe abſurdities upon the minds of credulous men, without the fear or the poſſibility of detection. Likewiſe, when the Grecians travelled in Egypt, it was not likely that men, accuſtomed to detail the moſt ridiculous dogmas of their own country, would hesitate to relate, as facts, the improbable and fictitious ſtories of the Egyptians. Amid this redundant maſs of fables, however, it ſhall be our buſineſs to ſeparate what appears the probable facts from the viſionary rubbiſh with which early hiſtory is enveloped; and, in performing this talk, if we cannot preſent an hiſtorical relation, we ſhall not fabricate a fabulous narrative.

Mankind, in former ages, when they wiſhed to attract attention, generally decorated their maxims, or their narratives, under the enticing garb of fable; and perhaps this circumſtance may have tended to obliterate the memory of early events, by aſcribing to the alluſion the meaning which it was intended to convey. It is an accuſation which may be generally made, for it has been the foible of almoſt every nation, to lay claim to very high antiquity. The Romans (ſays Livy), that they might not appear in this reſpect inferior in celebrity, inſtead of tracing their origin, as a nation, to a band of lawleſs free-booters, conducted by Romulus, and leading a ferocious banditti from about

mount Aventine, pretended to trace their genealogy from the gods themſelves. The Grecians were actuated with a ſimilar propenſity, and even the Chineſe of the preſent day boaſt of ſuch an origin. It may with peculiar propriety, however, be inferred from the circumſtances which would prompt men firſt to aſſociate together, that Egypt was among the firſt countries that would be inhabited.—But as that is mere conjecture, we ſhall proceed to conſider that uncertain period of time, which is generally diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of

THE FABULOUS AGES.

When the hiſtorian is at a loſs to ſupply a chaſm in his narration, he is obliged to ſubſtitute conjectures and probable circumſtances as facts. In this reſpect we muſt accord with our predeceſſors, and tread in the uncertain paths of fabulous hypotheſis. In that diſtant period alluded to, when mankind conſiſted of only a few families, their occurrences would, no doubt, conſiſt of the ſimple and unvaried practice of tending their herds and flocks, and receiving the fruits of the earth ſpontaneouſly as ſhe ſent them. Two or three ages or centuries muſt have elapſed, before they became ſo populous as to produce events correſponding to the fictions related of Oſiris and Iſis, Orus, Typhon, Apollo, &c. Authors have variouſly repreſented theſe fabulous details, and ſome have even aſcribed them to Menes and Seſoſtris, whoſe hiſtory we ſhall notice hereafter.

In whatever period of time, however, the reign of Oſiris did occur, men have been actuated by paſſions ſimilar to thoſe which reigned in the time of Philip or of Alexander. The amours, the contentions for power, and the paſſions of malice and revenge, prevailed to as great an extent as at any period. There is ſome plauſibility, therefore, in the ſuppoſition that theſe deities have been characterized in that manner at different periods of time, from the reſemblance they bore to certain phenomena of nature. Other reaſons may, however, be alleged, with equal appearance of truth. Theſe fabulous relations may have been the inventions of a later period to thoſe in which they are ſuppoſed to have reigned, and have aſſumed that fictitious garb merely from the propenſity which the ancients had to thoſe uncouth and marvellous deſcriptions. There is ſome propriety, likewiſe, in the idea, that this race of deities who performed ſo many wonderful deeds, was nothing elſe than ſome traditionary relation, founded upon the long lives of the antedeluvian patriarchs. If it was the latter which gave riſe to the ideal reign of thoſe divinities, the accounts we have of the antedeluvians are accurate and well founded; for vice, immorality, and all the contending paſſions of pride, avarice, and ambition, exiſted to a much greater degree than at any ſubſequent period; and the reigns of thoſe beneficent beings may have been greatly eſteemed, when contraſted with the extent of perfidy and iniquity which then prevailed.

To enter minutely into the hiſtory of Oſiris and Iſis, we ſhould be under the neceſſity of giving a hiſtory of the ancient mythology, for which we refer the reader to Plutarch, who has given an accurate view of the fables related of the Egyptian deities. We ſhall now only ſuccinctly ſurvey the material circumſtances connected with the Egyptian hiſtory, which are related of thoſe remarkable characters. To circumſcribe theſe accounts in a few words, when Oſiris was born of celeſtial parents, Sol and Rhea, he was deſtined for the beneficent purpoſe of civilizing mankind. His wife and ſiſter, Iſis, of the ſame mother, and Mercury her father, was born with a ſimilar intent. When they obtained the kingdom of Egypt, they laboured to reclaim the people from their ſavage ſtate, inſtructed them in the principles of religion, taught them to cultivate the earth, and live upon its produce. After Oſiris accompliſhed and civilized his own country, he extended his views to the civilization of the whole world, not by dint of arms, but by the influence of perſuaſion, and the allurements of muſic and of poetry.

In the proſecution of this undertaking, he was joined by many others. His brother Apollo, who claimed the laurel, as the ivy was ſacred to Oſiris, aſſiſted him in the laudable enterprize. Anubis and Macedon, his ſons, with Pan, were aſſociates in the ſame deſign; the firſt of whom was clothed in the ſkin of a dog, the ſecond of a wolf, and the third of a goat. Maro

aſſiſted in the planting and dreſſing of fruit trees; Tripolemus, in the ſowing of corn and reaping the harveſt; Apollo, with his nine fingers, in the ſcience of muſic; and others who were called Satyrs, on account of their jocundity and dancing, were all aſſiſtants in the accompliſhment of that benevolent purpoſe.

During the abſence of Oſiris, and the moſt learned and virtuous men in the kingdom, who were his aſſociates, the government was entruſted to Iſis. Hermes, the inventor of hieroglyphics, of letters, aud of the ſciences, was appointed as her aſſiſtant, and Hercules was the governor and the commander of the forces in Egypt.

The progreſs of Oſiris was firſt in Ethiopia, from whence he went to Arabia, and afterwards continued his travels into India, where a large and extenſive colony was eſtabliſhed, many cities built, and where he inſtructed them in the principles of cultivation and of religion. He planted the ivy, and left ſo many monuments of his improvements and his works in that country, that it has been queſtioned whether he did not derive his origin from India.* From thence he

† Sir Wm Jones, and other members of the Aſiatic Philoſophical Society, have diſcovered, from a variety of circumſtances, that the manners, cuſtoms, and religion of the Hindoos, bear a ſtriking analogy to the ancient Egyptians. Their reſpect for women, their mode of living, their veneration for religion, their moſt remarkable ſymbols, their mode of ſacrifices, and their belief

traverſed over the moſt of Aſia, croſſed the Helleſpont, and was oppoſed by Lycurgus in his progreſs through Thrace; but whom he overcame, and killed. In that country, Maro was left, as alſo his ſon Macedon, both of whom built cities which were called after their names, Maronea and Macedonia. Tripolemus was likewiſe entruſted with the government of Attica.

After Oſiris left theſe countries, he returned home; but, on his approaching the Egyptian ſhore, Typhon, his brother, by means of his accomplices, ſlew him, and diſtributed his body into twenty-ſix parts. The body, thus divided, was carried to different parts of Egypt; and afterwards Typhon aſſumed the government, where he reigned with tyrannic ſway. When the news of the king's death reached the ears of Iſis, ſhe not only diſpatched meſſengers to ſearch for the parts of her huſband's mangled body, but alſo went herſelf. Though Typhon had taken the precaution to diſperſe the parts, and even to throw them into deep lakes, ſhe, nevertheleſs, by the aſſiſtance of ſeveral dogs, recovered the whole, except the privities,

of the metampſychoſis and immortality of the ſoul, correſpond ſo exactly, as to induce the belief that both the Egyptians and the Hindoos muſt have derived theſe ſtriking features in their character from the ſame ſources. The colonizing of that country by Oſiris, at the very early period alluded to, acquires a great deal of credibility, as only ſociety at its formation can receive ſuch indelible habits, ſo as to form ſuch a diſtinguiſhed characteriſtic.—See the works of Sir Wm Jones, and the Aſiatic Reſearches. A.

which were ſaid to be thrown into the Nile, and devoured by the fiſhes.* It has been related, that the parts were embalmed, and buried as they were found; but others, with more probability, have aſſerted, that, when the different parts were collected, they were joined together, and preſerved, from whence the practice of embalming is ſaid to have originated. A monument was found, in Arabia, inſcribed in ſacred characters, to the following purport: "Saturn, the youngeſt of the gods, was my father. I am Oſiris, that king who led an army as far as the deſarts of India, and from thence northward, as far as the ſprings of the river Iſther, and thence quite to the ocean. I am Saturn's eldeſt ſon, ſprung from a noble ſtock of generous blood, and couſin to the day; nor is there a place where I have not been; I, who freely diſpenſed my benefits to all mankind."

Fabulous hiſtory relates, that Oſiris appeared again in human ſhape, and inſtructed Iſis and Orus in the mode of ſubjugating his unnatural brother, which they accompliſhed. After this event, Iſis reſumed the

* Iſis, after the moſt diligent ſearch, could never recover the privities of Oſiris, which, being thrown into the river, were devoured by the Lepidotos, the Squameus, the Phagrus, and the Oxyrinchus, which four ſorts of fiſh the Egyptians hated upon that account. But ſhe made ample amends for this irreparable loſs, by inſtituting a kind of ſeparate worſhip, which was devoutly and univerſally paid to the image of that part afterwards.

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government of Egypt, after having quelled her seditious subjects, and reigned for a great length of time, dispensing her justice and benevolence over that country. Her attachment to her deceased husband impelled her to vow perpetual celibacy; after which it was enacted, to be not only lawful, but honourable, that the brother and sister should be espoused in marriage. It will, indeed, be observed, that, in the future history of Egypt, the kings were frequently married to their own sisters. From this source of the happy consequences that arose in Egypt from the happy union of Osiris and Isis, the queens were more venerated and esteemed than the kings.

When the event of the death of Isis happened, she was universally lamented, and interred at Memphis, though others were of opinion that her remains were buried in Arabia, where a pillar was afterwards found similarly inscribed with that of Osiris: "I, Isis, am the queen of this country, and was tutored by Mercury. What I have ordained, no one may make void. I am the oldest daughter of Saturn, the youngest of the gods. I am the sister and wife of king Osiris. I am she who first found corn for the use of man. I am the mother of king Orus. I am she who ariseth in the dog star. The city of Bubastis was built in honor of me. Farewell! Rejoice, O Egypt, my nursing mother!"

From the above statement, a few facts may probably be gleaned, by the accurate observer, of the early

events in Egypt. There is no doubt but the hiſtory of Oſiris may be involved in fable; but there is ſome propriety in the ſuppoſition, that theſe tranſactions were partly real, and others exaggerated through the diſtortive medium of fable and oral tradition. Some circumſtances related of Oſiris are ſo nearly allied to the hiſtory of Seſoſtris, to which we are haſtening, that chronologers, particularly Sir Iſaac Newton, have poſitively aſſerted that they are altogether applicable to the tranſactions of that prince. However, there are ſuch evident marks in the above obſervations that the reign of Oſiris muſt have occurred at a very early period, that we are induced, by making allowances for ſome exaggerations, to place his reign about the period when they were firſt formed into the ſocial compact, or not long poſterior to that event.

THE DOUBTFUL ÆRA OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY.

The evident confuſion in which the early events of Egypt are involved, renders it a taſk of the utmoſt difficulty to affix a date, or eſtabliſh any chronological order, at what time thoſe tranſactions occurred. We muſt, therefore, apprize our readers, that the ardour of our enquiry is conſiderably impaired by the difficulty of aſcertaining the object of our reſearch, or attaining that ſatisfactory account, which may yet extricate us from the labyrinths of fable and incredibility.

The Egyptians, with conſiderable propriety, lay claim to high antiquity; but the records which ori-

ginally belonged to them being loſt, the fabrications of the prieſthood have leſſened the authenticity of their own relations. They affect to give us the hiſtory of a long ſucceſſion of princes who exiſted before the deluge, and even the account which we have of the creation of the world. Whether or not they were prompted to pretend to ſuch an extravagant origin from a ſimilar boaſt of the Chaldeans, is to us inexplicable; but it appears that it was the ſubject of contention betwixt thoſe two nations, in giving the hiſtory of their diſcoveries in aſtronomy and the ſciences.

From what ſource Manetho procured his information, he does not ſatisfactorily account.* It is therefore probable, that it was generally borrowed from ſome poetical fictions propagated by the prieſts, and that he gave credit to the information, becauſe he could not contradict or diſprove the relation. His chronicle contained a liſt of 30 dynaſties of princes, who ruled in Egypt during a ſeries of 113 genera-

* It is related by ſome authors, that Manetho extracted his hiſtory from the pillars of Hermes; but it is a ridiculous ſuppoſition to imagine he could tranſcribe the information of Hermes from pillars which were erected about the commencement of the Egyptian hiſtory, except by anticipation; and none of the prieſts ever mention that Hermes was a prophet. The hiſtory of the principal events might, indeed, have been recorded on theſe pillars as they occurred, but there is no relation that warrants that ſuppoſition.

tions, and which occupied the immenſe ſpace of 36,525 years. In theſe dynaſties, Egypt was governed by three diſtinct races; of which, the firſt was the Auritæ, the ſecond the Meſtriæ, and the third the Egyptians; or, in other accounts founded upon the ſame data, the gods, demigods, and men. This prodigious ſeries of years would appear to be not a real, but fictitious aſtronomical calculation, being produced by multiplying 1461 by 25, and is manifeſtly the grand revolution of the zodiac, ſo famous in the Egyptian and Grecian fables; at the concluſion of which period, the ſun will return to the point from whence he commenced his career the firſt minute of the firſt degree of Aries.

Some chronologiſts, however, willing to countenance and defend this account of the hiſtorian Manetho, obſerve, that this exorbitant number of years was not ſolar, but lunar years or months. This ſuppoſition was founded upon the idea, that men, in the early ages, were ignorant of the ſun's annual revolution, or his courſe through the 12 ſigns of the zodiac; whereas they deſcribed the year by the revolution of the moon, whoſe various, but regular phaſes, they conſtantly obſerved and underſtood. It is a more rational conjecture, however, that, after they underſtood the method of calculating eclipſes, and as it was in their power to carry theſe calculations as far back as they might chuſe to rate their antiquity, they raiſed theſe pretenſions in the ſame ratio that they

could impoſe upon the credulity of the weak and the ignorant.

It is likewiſe remarkable, that the Chineſe, who are confeſſedly a very ancient nation, ſhould run into the ſame incredible extravagancies reſpecting their antiquity. They, no doubt, upon the ſame principle, inſiſt that their empire has been governed by a ſucceſſion of kings, through numerous dynaſties, which, they ſay, has ſubſiſted for 28,000 years. But Lord Anſon aſſures us, that, with all the enquiry he could make, he could ſcarcely find one among their eſteemed aſtronomers, that was poſſeſſed of as much real ſcientific knowledge as to be able to project a ſun dial. They, too, are ſuppoſed to have originally computed their time by lunar, not by ſolar years.

By excluding the imaginary reign of gods and demigods, the chronology of Manetho, which relates to the reign of the Egyptians, may, with a ſlight modification, be made to correſpond with the Samaritan chronology of the world. According to Syncellus, the reign of the Egyptian princes extended to 3,555 years, which, by allowing 1200 years for the antedeluvians; 785 years for the poſtdeluvians, or the reign of Mizraim, the grandſon of Noah, and his deſcendants; and the remainder comprizing 1570 years, will occupy the intermediate ſpace of time betwixt that and Alexander the Great.

The learned Marſham, with conſiderable plauſibility, however, conjectured, that theſe dynaſties

were not ſucceſſive, but collateral; and that as Egypt was divided, in ancient times, into four diſtinct kingdoms, Thebes, This, Memphis, and Lower Egypt, beſides ſeveral more, of inconſiderable note, that aroſe afterwards, he ſettled, by that means, the Egyptian hiſtory, according to Eratoſthenes, to correſpond with the Hebrew chronology. The chief objection to his reaſoning, is, in dating the commencement of the Egyptian monarchy with Ham, the ſon of Noah, inſtead of Mizraim; and his calculating 1400 years between the time of Menes and Seſoſtris, whom he aſſerts to be the Seſac of the Bible, though it has been contended that a much greater interval was between them.

This hypotheſis of a plurality of kings exiſting at the ſame time, appears very probable. In early times, there were kings of ſmall provinces, and even cities; therefore it is rational to ſuppoſe that ſimilar circumſtances prevailed in Egypt, as well as other countries. Egypt was, however, divided into two kingdoms, at different periods of time, and for ſeveral centuries the capital of the one was Thebes, and the other Memphis; and Herodotus and Diodorus both mention, that it was governed by two kings at the time of the invaſion of the Ethiopians under Sabbaco.—Under theſe circumſtances, therefore, it is impoſſible for any hiſtorian to pretend to an accurate adjuſtment of the Egyptian chronology. The amazing chaſms left by Herodotus and Diodorus, the irreconcileable diſagreement of ſeveral others, and their

manner of all reckoning by generations, render it ſo perplexing, that we ſhall not pretend to inſiſt upon the dates of any of the ancient reigns before the time of Pſammeticus. The coincidence of facts, and hiſtorical ſynchroniſms, indeed, may afford a clue by which ſome remarkable occurrences and ſome particular reigns may be explained, of which we ſhall give them that conſideration that they may appear to deſerve.

But however acceptable inveſtigations of dates may be to the ſcholar and the critic, yet the object of hiſtorical compoſition ſhould be likewiſe devoted to the recording of what may improve the underſtanding, or ameliorate the heart. The object of our reſearch ſhall be, therefore, devoted to thoſe reigns wherein they were ſignalized by events of an extraordinary nature, either of a virtuous kind, or the reverſe; and to the buſy and ſtriking ſcenes in the lives of thoſe princes who rendered themſelves famous for ſplendid and meritorious actions.

The ancient hiſtory of Egypt may be properly divided into three periods, which, for the ſake of even numbers, may be calculated to contain abont 2,500 years. In commencing our hiſtory with Menes, or the firſt eſtabliſhment of the Egyptian monarchy, which is ſuppoſed by Eratoſthenes and others, to have happened about 200 years after the deluge, the firſt period will conſiſt of about 1700 years, and which finiſhes with the revolution in the Egyptian government

by the conquering arms of Cambyſes, king of Perſia. The ſucceeding period will be occupied by the hiſtory of the Perſians and Greeks, which comes down to the death of Alexander the Great, when the government of Egypt became ſubject to the Ptolomies, and includes a term of about 210 years. The third branch of the ancient Egyptian hiſtory will occupy that eventful period, from the commencement of the reign of Ptolemy Lagus to the death of Cleopatra, the laſt native queen of that country; and will alſo include the acceſſion of Egypt to the Romans, which became a province of that empire till the Roman power ſplit into pieces, when Egypt was conquered by the Caliphs; all which will occupy a ſpace of time of about 590 years.---In commencing with a hiſtorical view of the political tranſactions during theſe diſtinct periods, we ſhall introduce the ſubject with

THE REIGN OF MENES.

Menes, or Menos, is univerſally agreed to have been the firſt man that reigned over Egypt. But, even here, we are at a loſs to account or aſcertain who this Menes was, as no two hiſtorians are agreed concerning him in any reſpect. According to Sir John Marſham, this prince Menes was Ham, the ſon of Noah, in ſcripture, the Jupiter Hammon of the Egyptians, and the Thammuz, or Adonis, of

* It is ſomewhat ſingular that Sir Iſaac Newton ſhould have contradicted the whole tribe of ancient writers, reſpecting the

the Phœnicians. This is again utterly denied by Perizonius, and Sir Iſaac Newton.* However, it was in the time of Menes, that the whole country (Thebais excepted) was a moraſs, and no land appeared between the lake Moeris and the Mediterranean ſea, which was ſeven days paſſage on the river. He, therefore, diverted the courſe of the Nile, which before waſhed the foot of the ſandy moun-

order in which the reign of Egyptian princes has been hitherto viewed. In his chronology he places Menes ſubſequent to Seſoſtris and others, only about 300 years before Pſammeticus. His reaſons, we muſt confeſs, are appoſite, as he ſays that the Egyptians originally lived on the fruits of the earth; whereas, he introduced voluptuouſneſs and luxury, and, as we before obſerved, his memory was execrated in the temple of Thebes on that account. He alſo built the temple of Vulcan, which, Sir Iſaac ſays, was not finiſhed till the time of his ſucceſſors, who built the porticoes. This Menes, he likewiſe ſuppoſes to be the ſame with Memnon, who built the city of Memphis, turned the channel of the Nile, and built a bridge over it, for the purpoſe of preventing the inroads of invaders, who had previouſly ſubdued Egypt. As the temple was finiſhed by Pſammeticus, which was 300 years after the expulſion of the ſhepherds above alluded to, he ſays, that the temple could not have been more than that time in building. However, it is to be obſerved, that theſe reaſons are not ſufficiently ſtrong to alter the Grecian mode of ſucceſſion, which we purſue, as it will be ſeen, in the courſe of the work, that ſynchroniſms as ſtrong, if not more ſo, as that of Sir Iſaac's, will appear, which makes the altering of hiſtorical ſucceſſion a matter of great difficulty, if not preſumption.

tains towards Lybia, and built the city of Memphis within the ancient bed of the river. On the north and weſt ſides of that city, without the walls, he made a lake that was fed by the Nile, which flowed along the eaſt ſide of the town: And, in the city itſelf, he built the famous and ſtately temple of Vulcan. He was the firſt who inſtructed the Egyptians in religious ceremonies, that introduced domeſtic magnificence and luxury, and that inſtituted the pomp of feaſts; on which account, one of his ſucceſſors loaded his memory with execrations. He reigned during the long period of 60, or, according to ſome, 62 years, and ſhewed himſelf worthy of being the founder of a great empire. Syncellus tells us, that he was killed by a Hippopotamus, the natural hiſtory of which huge and formidable amphibious creature, we have given in the preceeding part of this work.

After the death of Menes, Herodotus informs us, that the Egyptians produced a catalogue of 330 kings, extending from Menes, to Mœris, who was the laſt of the number; and that there was nothing worth notice recorded of any of them, except one Ethiopian woman, called Nitocris. But Diodorus aſſures us, that the family of Menes filled the throne of Egypt to the fifty-ſecond deſcent, and that their ſeveral reigns took up a ſpace of no leſs than 1400 years.

In this vaſt chaſm, during which no regular line of Egyptian princes can be traced with certainty,

although that vaſt period muſt not be paſſed over in total ſilence, we imagine that it will not be improper to give ſome account of a remarkable revolution which took place in Egypt during that long ſpace of time. We are induced to this, as the whole tranſaction ſeems to belong to ſome very remote period of the Eyptian hiſtory. In the reign of Timaus, who ſwayed the ſceptre 24 years, and when that people were not only enjoying profound peace, but in the enjoyment of whatever could conſtitute felicity, ſo far as plenty could do, a vaſt multitude of ſtrangers, with arms of various kinds, of baſe and ignoble extraction, poured from the eaſt into Egypt. This ferocious banditti choſe one to be their king, of their own number, named Salatis, while they termed themſelves Hycſos, or king ſhepherds; *hyc*, in the ſacred dialect, ſignifying a king, and *ſos*, in the common dialect, ſignifying a paſtor ſhepherd, hence the compound Hycſos. But who theſe men originally were, or from what country they poured, like an inundation, into Egypt, is not agreed even among the beſt informed hiſtorians and chronologiſts. As to the time when it happened, Sir John Marſham places it 157 years before the Exodus, or the departure of the Iſraelites out of Egypt. Perizonius, drawing a very circumſtantial parallel between what is recorded of the ſhepherds by Manetho, and what is ſaid of the obſcurity of the Iſraelites, of the power and dignity of Joſeph, and the miracles of Moſes, by which the country

was almoſt deſtroyed, boldly aſſerts, that, as the deſcendants of Jacob were ſhepherds, this inundation of ſtrangers were none other but the Jews themſelves. But this is evidently aſſerted without proof, for both ſacred and profane hiſtory agree in their accounts of the condition of the Iraelites; and that, ſo far from affecting and obtaining the ſovereignty of that country, they were kept, from the death of their illuſtrious countryman Joſeph, in a ſtate of the moſt lamentable depreſſion and wretchedneſs, and from which, by the account of ſacred writ, they were only delivered by a ſeries of deſtructive miracles upon the Egyptians, their mercileſs oppreſſors.

Sir Iſaac Newton makes the paſtors to have been the Canaanites, who fled from Joſhua, and went into Africa from the victorious ſword of that conqueror; but, in their flight, ſeized on the kingdom of lower Egypt, in the reign of Timaus, whom the ſame author calls Thamus, or Thammuz. This laſt opinion is not without plauſibility, as it is well known, that, of the numerous nations of Canaan, thoſe who eſcaped extermination by Joſhua, fled to the moſt remote regions of Africa; as monumental pillars, ſaid to have been erected by thoſe fugitives, were found, ages afterwards, having this inſcription—"*we fled here from* THE ROBBER JOSHUA."

But whatever truth or miſtakes may be in theſe different accounts, hiſtory informs us, that the ſhepherds, ruſhing into Egypt, made war on the inhabitants, who, intimidated by their numbers and ferocity,

tamely ſubmitted to them without trying the event of a battle. The ſhepherds, having reduced the Egyptian princes, inhumanly burnt the cities, threw down the temples of the gods, and behaved in the moſt cruel and haughty manner towards the ancient inhabitants, putting them to death, and carrying their wives and children into captivity. Salatis, whom they inaugurated as king, uſually reſided at Memphis, and leaving garriſons in proper ſtations, kept both upper and lower Egypt under ſubjection. He particularly fortified the eaſtern parts of that country, under the apprehenſion of an invaſion from the Aſſyrians, who were, at that time, very powerful. He, therefore, made choice of a convenient ſituation for a place of ſtrength, and fixed upon a city in the Saitic nome, that was ſeated on the eaſt banks of the river, and which he called Bubaſtis, but was diſtinguiſhed by the name of Abaris in the ancient theology. This city had been previouſly founded, but he ſurrounded it with a very ſtrong wall, ſecuring it with a powerful garriſon of 24000 ſoldiers. He commonly paid Egypt a viſit in the time of harveſt, to gather in his corn, to pay and exerciſe his ſoldiers, that they might always be ready and fit for action, and be a conſtant terror to any who ſhould attempt to invade them. Salatis died, and was ſucceeded by five others of the paſtoral race, who were unceaſing, like their predeceſſor, in their endeavours to extirpate the whole nation of the native

Egyptians. They retained the dominion of Egypt 511 years. No ſplendid atchievement ſignalized any of their reigns, and it is likely their time and exertions were employed to retain their conqueſt by the ſame oppreſſive means by which they at firſt acquired it. It will fall in the courſe of the work, to ſpeak of the time, manner, and means of the expulſion of theſe invaders.

The Dynaſty of the paſtoral or ſhepherd kings.

1	Salatis reigned	19 years.
2	Bœon	44
3	Apachnas	36
4	Aphophis	64
5	Ianias	50
6	Aſſis	49

It has been already obſerved, that, deſpairing of finding a line of hiſtorical truth reſpecting the ſucceſſors of Menes till the time of Moeris, Herodotus abandons the reſearch, although he poſſeſſed ſufficient opportunities for information. Diodorus, however, either leſs timed, or more ſucceſsful, relates the tranſactions of ſeveral princes not mentioned by that venerable hiſtorian, of which we ſhall take a paſſing ſketch of what appears moſt intereſting and important.

BUSIRIS.

Several Grecian writers ſpeak of the cruelties of a king of this name; but both Marſham and Newton are

of opinion that no prince of this title ever exiſted. This idea is founded upon the circumſtance of Buſiris being a name for the tomb of Oſiris, where human victims were offered up; and, it is ſaid, that ſeveral Grecians, who had red hair, being ſeized upon for that inhuman purpoſe, gave riſe to the fable.* However, Diodorus mentions, that Buſiris not only reigned in Egypt, but that eight princes of the ſame line regularly ſucceeded each other, the laſt of whom, of the name, founded the city of Thebes, and made it the capital of his kingdom.—The next reign of any conſequence which demands attention, is that of

OSYMANDES.

Like that of Buſiris, this prince is involved in myſtery and ambiguity. At what time he reigned, and whom he ſucceeded, no writer has been yet able to explain; though the relations of Diodorus, reſpecting the magnificence and other wonderful works performed at the period which he ſpeaks of, are corroborated by travellers into Egypt.† Science and

* See page 10 of Volume II.

† When I had ſeen Carnack, I went up the river, a ſmall league, to Luxerein, or Laſcor, on the 17th January, being very early in the morning. I carried a letter and a preſent to the Sheick, and the Sheick's ſon of Carnack came to me here, and very civily provided a dinner, and ſtaid with me all day. I viewed the remains of the large and magnificent temple there, which, without doubt, was a part of the ancient Thebes, on

the arts muſt have made conſiderable progreſs, for, we are told, that, in his reign, the ſolar year was underſtood, the zodiack was invented, architecture was arrived at conſiderable eminence, the papyrus was in uſe, and letters were generally underſtood.

The power of Oſymandes muſt have been very conſiderable, for his conqueſts extended all over Perſia, and it is related, that, when the Bactrians revolted, he reduced them to ſubjection with an army of 400000 foot, and 200000 cavalry. According to Quintus Curtius, the Bactrians were the beſt ſoldiers in the world, and it appears that their independent ſpirit, when reduced to the power of the conqueror, was ſimilar to the ancient Britons, after the invaſion of Julius Cæſar.† An army was neceſſary to be pre-

the eaſt ſide of the river. That grand building anſwers very well to the particular deſcription Diodorus gives of the ſepulchre of Oſymandyas, which, he ſays, was a mile and a quarter in circumference, a plan of which may be ſeen in the fortieth plate.

POCOCKE.

† The various tribes of Britons poſſeſſed valour without conduct, and the love of freedom without the ſpirit of union. They took up arms with ſavage fierceneſs; they laid them down, or turned them againſt each other with wild inconſtancy; and while they fought ſingly, they were ſucceſſively ſubdued. Neither the fortitude of Caractacus, the deſpair of Boadicea, nor the fanaticiſm of the Druids, could avert the ſlavery of their country, or reſiſt the ſteady progreſs of the imperial generals, who maintained the national glory, when the throne was diſgraced by the weakeſt, or the moſt vicious of mankind.

GIBBON.

ſent, in order to overawe them, for, when an opportunity preſented, they always endeavoured to throw off the yoke of Egypt.*

Of all the monuments raiſed by any ancient prince, that related of Oſymandes ſeems the moſt magnificent. This immenſe ſtructure conſiſted of a palace, with vaſt courts and extenſive porticoes, ſhrines, temples, a library, and his own tomb. This edifice was remarkably ſplendid, and adorned with figures of the moſt exquiſite workmanſhip. The court, in front of the building, was compoſed of various kinds of ſtone, was 200 feet in extent, and 45 feet high. Adjoining to this court was a ſquare portico, 400 feet long on each ſide, the immenſe roof of which was ſupported by the repreſentations of animals inſtead of pillars, each of the aſtoniſhing height of 15 cubits, proportionately ſhaped, and all of one ſtone. The ceiling of this portico was blue, and beſpangled with ſtars. From this portico a paſſage led to a ſecond court, ſimilar to the firſt, but more richly adorned with ſtatues and beautiful repreſentations of animals. At the entrance was ſituated three ſtatutes, the principal of which repreſented Oſymandes, in a ſitting poſture; the other two were ſaid to be his mother and daughter,

* Bactria was an ancient province of Perſia, between Schythia and the Indies, and correſponds with that mountainous tract of country which is bounded, at preſent, by Perſia on the weſt and ſouth weſt, Tartary on the north, Thibet and the Mogul empire on the eaſt, and the Perſian gulph on the ſouth. A

as they ſtood, at each knee. Theſe ſtatutes were executed by Memnon, the Sicnite, and though they appeared as three different figures, were yet joined together, and was altogether one ſtone. It excited the admiration of every beholder, not more on account of its exquiſite beauty, as no blemiſh appeared about any part of it, than the art of the ſculptor in making the figure to correſpond with the beauty of the ſtone. The foot alone of this remarkable ſtatue meaſured ſomething more than ten feet and a half in length. On this remarkable coloſſus, the following inſcription was to be ſeen: "I am Oſymandes, king of kings; whoever will diſpute with me this title, let him ſurpaſs me in any of my works."* There was likewiſe a ſtatue of the mother of Oſymandes, 20 cubits high, ſituated near the others, which ſtood by itſelf, and was cut out of an entire ſtone. On her head were the figures of three queens, by which it implied that ſhe was the daughter, wife, and mother of a king.

* With reſpect to this boaſt of Oſymandes it may be obſerved, that, if he meant the ſtatue which was erected to his memory, that erected in the iſland of Rhodes ſurpaſſed it in the ſame proportion that it was coloſſal in compariſon of others. The coloſſus at Rhodes conſiſted of braſs, and was dedicated to Apollo, or the Sun. It was the workmanſhip of Chares, the diſciple of Lyſippus, upon which he ſpent 12 years, before it was finiſhed. It was erected in ſuch a manner, that each foot reſted on each ſide of the harbour, on a ſolid rock, and was 126 feet in height, ſo that veſſels might paſs in full ſail betwixt its legs. An idea might be

Adjoining to this ſpacious court was another very extenſive piazza, on the walls of which were inſcribed, in hieroglyphical characters, the tranſactions of his reign. In the firſt place, he was repreſented beſieging a tower which was ſurrounded with a river, and fighting in the front of the battle, accompanied by a lion; concerning which it was ſaid, that he always fought with a tame lion by his ſide; while others more properly obſerve, that that animal was merely emblematical of his courage. On the ſecond wall appeared the repreſentations of priſoners, with their hands and privities cut off, which was conſidered as emblematical of cowardice. The third wall was ſculptured with the emblems of his ſacrifices and his triumphs; and the fourth was occupied by two gigantic ſtatues, in a ſitting poſture, each 27 cubits high. In the middle of this piazza, which was not roofed, but expoſed to

formed of its magnitude, from few perſons being able to fathom its thumb. It was ſupported in the middle by a figure of a triangular ſhape, and 60 pillars ſupported each leg. There was a winding ſtaircaſe which aſcended to the top of the coloſſus, from whence they could diſcover, by means of a large mirror that hung round its neck, veſſels that went into Syria and Upper Egypt. This huge ſtatue was at length overthrown by means of an earthquake, after having ſtood 1360 years. From the prediction of an oracle, they were afraid to injure it, even after it had fallen, as it was ſuppoſed that the ruin of Rhodes would follow, upon its mutilation. However, when the Saracens became maſters of the iſland, and finding it poſtrate on the ground, they ſold it to a Jew, who employed not leſs than 900 camels in its removal. A.

the open air, there was an altar, formed of the moſt beautiful marble, and executed in the moſt ſuperb manner.

From this piazza there were three paſſages, which led to a ſuperb hall, ſupported by many maſſy columns, and which meaſured about 200 feet ſquare. From the aſſemblage of ſtatues and emblematical figures within this room, it is very probable that it was appropriated for a court of juſtice.* A ſpacious gallery proceeded from thence, with the figure of Oſymandes preſenting an offering of the firſt-fruits of gold and ſilver, which he derived from the Egyptian mines. Theſe mines were ſaid to yield annually the aſtoniſhing weight of 32,000,000 minae, which is above 96 millions ſterling; but others, thinking this a ſum too extravagant for any mines to produce, have ſuppoſed only a ſixth part of that ſum, ſome miſtakes, perhaps, having ariſen from the careleſſneſs of the Grecian tranſcribers.

To this king, among his other qualifications, is attributed the honour of collecting a great number of

* In this place were many wooden ſtatues, repreſenting parties engaged in law, and the judges hearing the cauſes. Theſe laſt, to the number of thirty, were carved on one ſide, with their preſident in the midſt of them, at whoſe neck hung an image with its eyes ſhut, to repreſent Truth, and with many books about him. By this they choſe to ſignify, that judges ought to be proof againſt bribery, and reſpect nothing but truth and equity.

MAP of EGYPT.

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

DESERT OF ARABIA

DESERT OF AFRICA

LYBIA OR UPPER EGYPT

BEHAIRIA OR PROV. OF THE SEA

DELTA

GARBIA OR WESTERN PROVINCE

SHARKIA OR EASTERN PROV.

RED SEA

Cape Brouloz
Bogaz
Line of the ancient Shore
Aboukir
Pharos
Alexandria
Rosetta
Lake of Aboukir
Brouls
Damietta
Faoua
Herodotus
Lake Mareotis
Behek
Natrum
Tezamud
Bahr bela ma or River without Water
L. of Natrum
Pelusium
Arc Canal
Pilgrims
Helieh
Abyrond
Suez
Pyramids
CAIRO
Ancient course of the Nile
Lake Moeris
Lake of Fayoum
Mokattam
El Tih or Desert of Wandering
Route of the Pilgrims to Mecca
Mokattam
Marbles
Coast little known
Sea of Kolzoum
Coast of Kolzoum
Mountains
Quarries
Benia
Oshmounein
Mantafaout
Assiout
Tahta
Akmim
Djirdjeh
Dendera
Coptos
Kenneh
Sepulchres of the Kings of Thebes
Ancient Thebes
Demoeral
Oasis
Oasis
Syene
Aswan
Yabna
Jerusalem
SYRIA
Hebron
Gaza
Ras Muhammed
Mt. Horeb
Mt. Sinai
Mt. Serbal
Wady el Arabah
Mt. Hor
Mt. Seir
Elath
Ezion Geber
Mt. Paran
Mt. of Serpentine Stone
Aroüan or Syene
Granites
French Leagues 25 to a degree
English Statute Miles rated at 1500 Toises
The Mountains on the east Side of the Nile are in their whole length called Gebel Mokat Jam or Mokattam
This Part of Lybia is said to have been in ancient Times regularly overflowed by the Nile
this space is filled with barren Mountains and is occupied by two Families or Tribes of Arabs
30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37
31 30 29 28 27 26 25 24


h
ons

books, for the purpoſe of forming a library. On the front of the hall where this library was kept, the following inſcription preſented itſelf, "THE DISPENSARY OF THE MIND;" thereby implying an apt remembrancer reſpecting their utility in curing ignorance, the moſt dangerous diſeaſe to which the ſoul is ſubject. Beſides books, the room was adorned with ſtatues of the Egyptian deities, to whom he preſented his regular devotions.

But amid all the magnificence which was diſplayed in his other buildings, the tomb of Oſymandes excelled them all. In this repoſitory were the ſtatues of Jupiter, Juno, and himſelf; and around the walls were ſeveral pavilions, in which emblematical repreſentations of animals were ſculptured. In the ſame room was ſituated the ſepulchre which contained his body, and around the monument was a ring or circle of maſſy gold, 365 cubits in circumference, and one in thickneſs. This golden ring was calculated for a general almanac, on which the days of the year were divided, and the riſing and ſetting of the ſtars. Upon the invaſion of Cambyſes, the Perſian, this beautiful ring was deſtroyed, and carried away.---The lineal deſcendants of this prince occupied the throne of Egypt to the eighth generation, but there is no aſcertaining at what period it was.

UCHOREUS

Was the eighth in the line of Oſymandes; and al-

though Menes was reported to have built and fortified Memphis, yet there were authors who aſcribed this mighty work to Uchoreus. It is ſaid, that he gave that city a circuit of 150 ſtadia, or near 20 miles, and by mounds and trenches to have ſecured it againſt the attacks either of the Nile or of the foreign invader. He adorned Memphis with palaces, which, though they ſurpaſſed thoſe of any other country, yet fell ſhort of the ſtructures reared by ſome of his predeceſſors. "For, ſays the hiſtorian, the inhabitants held this tranſitory life in no eſtimation, if compared with the joys the virtuous were to poſſeſs hereafter;" and, of conſequence, they were proportionately leſs ſplendid in the lodgings they prepared for the living, than in the magnificent receptacles they reared for the dead. He tranſlated the ſeat of empire from Thebes to Memphis; but when he lived, or at what time he died, is ſwallowed up in the gulph of time.

NITOCRIS.

Herodotus, who has given ſuch a ſcanty liſt of the princes of Egypt, has, however, mentioned a female who ſwayed the ſceptre of that kingdom, whoſe name was Nitocris, which ſignifies Minerva Victrix. Sir John Marſham places her ſoon after the Iſraelites came out of Egypt. She ſucceeded her brother, an Ethiopian, whom the Egyptians murdered, but afterwards conferred the ſucceſſion on her. She revenged her brother's death by a ſingular ſtratagem. By means

of a ſubterraneous building, which was pretended to be applied to a different purpoſe, ſhe invited the principal conſpirators againſt her brother to partake of a feaſt, and, in the midſt of their mirth, turned the river upon them by a private paſſage, and ſo drowned them all. To ſcreen herſelf from the rage of the people, ſhe took refuge in a place fortified with aſhes, and there ended her days. Herodotus ſays ſhe was of a fair complexion, her hair yellow, her perſon beautiful, her mind great, but much inclined to cruelty and revenge. Syncellus writes, that the third pyramid was built by this princeſs.

MOERIS.

A long chaſm of 12 generations ſucceeded, when Moeris, or Myris, came to the throne. It was this king who formed the ſtupendous work of the lake which bears his name, and correſponds with that which is ſometimes called the lake of Fayoum. Of this vaſt and almoſt incredible work, we have already given an account, to which we refer our readers.* It was this prince who alſo built a ſumptuous portico on the north ſide of Vulcan's temple, at Memphis. In the ſucceſſion of the ſovereigns of Egypt, according to the account of Herodotus, Moeris was the 330 king from Menes, and the immediate predeceſſor to Seſoſtris.

* For an account of lake Moeris, ſee vol. I. page 64, and the ſequel.

A.

SESOSTRIS.*

This prince makes the moſt conſpicuous figure of all that ever ſat on the throne of Egypt; and as the ancient hiſtorians, both of Greece and other nations, are very copious in recording the events of his reign, we ſhall lay the ſubſtance of their obſervations before our readers. Yet even here there is a vaſt difference in opinion reſpecting his name and identity, or who he was; the extent of his conqueſts, and the manner of his death. He was, by different authors, called Seſoſtris, Seſooſtris, Seſooſis, Seſonchis, Seſonchoſis, Seſothis, and many other appellations. Sir John Marſham is clearly of opinion that he was the Seſac of the prophane hiſtorians, and the Shiſhak of the ſacred. He ſays, that all the more ancient kings of Egypt, with whom the patriarchs and Iſraelites were formerly concerned, are always ſtiled Pharaoh, or King, in a ſucceſſion of many ages; whereas Shiſhak is the firſt Egyptian king in ſcripture called by his proper name.

* See Bouhier's chronological account of the kings of Egypt, from Moeris to Cambyſis; according to which, Moeris died in the year of the world 3360, and was ſucceeded by Seſoſtris in 3361.—Diodorus Siculus makes this prince poſterior to Moeris by ſeven generations; but, as Larcher juſtly obſerves, this writer cannot be entitled to an equal degree of credit with Herodotus. Seſoſtris has been differently named: Tacitus calls him Rhampſes; Scaliger, both Rameſſes and Egyptus. He is named Seſoſtris in Diodorus Siculus: Seſoſis in Pliny, &c. BELOE.

This famous chronologer thinks that when Seſoſtris, or Shiſhack, as he terms him, ſet out upon his Aſiatic expedition, he judged it political to fall upon Judea, and accordingly went to Jeruſalem, which he ſtripped of its riches, and reduced Rehoboam to ſerve him.

Mr Whiſton, who in general was ſingular in all his opinions, boldly maintained, by a long chain of arguments, that Seſoſtris was the identical Pharaoh, who, with all his hoſt, was drowned in the Red Sea. Theſe circumſtances render it extremely difficult to aſcertain, with preciſion, the exact time of the commencement and duration of his reign. If it happened in the reign of Rehoboam, we can be at no loſs; but as this is uncertain, we refer our readers to what the learned have advanced upon this ſubject. It is, however, agreed on all hands, that the reign of Seſoſtris is accounted the moſt ſplendid and extraordinary part of the Egyptian hiſtory. He is repreſented as potent on land and at ſea; wiſe, juſt, generous, valiant, and magnificent; but ambitious without bounds, and reſolutely courageous, without prudence.* Hiſtorians are profuſe in the praiſes of this prince, who was without doubt a very extraordinary and enterprizin man. We ſhall, therefore, collect the beſt account we can of his reign, diveſting our relation of thoſe fa-

* The analogy betwixt his character and that of Alexander is peculiarly ſtriking, which will be ſeen when we come to treat of that prince's reign. A.

bulous circumſtances of which ancient writers have been ſo profuſe.

Seſoſtris is by ſome hiſtorians thought to have been the ſon of Amenophis. It is ſaid, that Vulcan appeared to him in a dream, and admoniſhed him, that the ſon who was or ſhould be born to him would be the lord of the whole earth. Highly affected with this extraordinary viſion, he collected together all the male children in Egypt who had been born on the ſame day with his ſon, and appointed tutors and proper perſons to take care of them, having them in all reſpects treated like his own child; perſuaded that they, who had been the equal and conſtant companions of his childhood and youth, would prove his moſt faithful miniſters, and moſt affectionate and loyal fellow-ſoldiers. They were abundantly furniſhed with every thing needful, and, as they grew up, were, by degrees, inured to laborious and manly exerciſes. One regulation was ſingular. They were never permitted to taſte any food till they had performed a journey of 180 furlongs, or upwards of 22 miles. By ſuch manly and hardy exerciſes, they were equally qualified to command or to obey. Amenophis having, by incredible pains, laid the foundation of his ſon's future greatneſs, reſolved to make a trial of thoſe inſtitutions from which he expected the young prince and his youthful companions would reap ſo much advantage. Having, therefore, raiſed a choice army, he gave the chief command to

his ſon, and ordered them to march into Arabia. The youthful warrior, in this expedition, performed prodigies of heroiſm. The burning ſands, the fierce ſerpents of the deſarts, and the roving tribes of Arabia, attacking and flying, could not check his progreſs, and penetrating far into that inhoſpitable country, he ſubdued a larger part of that variegated region than ever had been atchieved by any invader before his time. Purſuing his victory, and marching weſtward, he reduced almoſt all Africa, nor ſtopped his career till he had a view of the Atlantic ocean. It was during this expedition that his father paid the debt of nature; nor had he the ſatisfaction of ſeeing his victorious ſon return, with his brave compeers, loaden with laurels which they had ſo bravely won. Young Seſoſtris being now in full poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty, and his ſoul being fired with ambition from the ſucceſs with which his firſt eſſay in arms had been crowned, graſped at no leſs an object than the conqueſt of the whole earth! He, probably, was incited to theſe boundleſs proſpects by the prediction of the god Vulcan to his father. Others ſay, that his daughter Athyrte, a young lady of extraordinary accompliſhments, both in perſonal charms and high mental endowments, ſtimulated him to this carreer of glory, aſſuring him that univerſal conqueſt would be an eaſy matter. To this it is ſaid, that, being deeply ſkilled in magic and divination, ſhe aſſured her father that ſucceſs would crown his enterprize. The ſecret in-

ſtructions of the god Mercury to Seſoſtris, reſpecting the means to prove the expedition ſucceſsful, are ſaid, alſo, to have been communicated to Seſoſtris, and ſo confirmed him in the conviction that he was equal to the vaſt ſcheme in meditation.

Knowing, however, the verſatility of mankind, and that his authority and government might be endangered during his abſence, which, from the extent of the plan, the numerous nations to be ſubdued, and the unforſeen difficulties which muſt attend the execution of an enterprize ſo extenſive, and ſo dubious as to the reſult, he deemed two precautions altogether neceſſary. The firſt was to ſecure the affections of the army, which he had diſciplined with the companions of his youth, and who, to a man, were ready to ſhed their blood in his ſervice. To guard againſt domeſtic inſurrections was a precaution no leſs neceſſary. For this purpoſe he took incredible pains to endear himſelf to his ſubjects, by largeſſes in money, donations in land, by remiſſion of puniſhments; nay, he extended his clemency to all ſuch as had been guilty of treaſon, and by diſcharging the debts and incumbrances of numbers, of which were many who had inliſted into his army; he, indeed, by his magnificent deportment, gained by theſe means the affections of all conditions and ranks of people. He then divided the kingdom into 36 nomes, or provinces, aſſigning to theſe important charges men of tried worth, and of attachment to his perſon and

government. Armais, his brother, he conſtituted ſupreme regent over the other 36 governors, and to whom they were to be reſponſible, inveſting him with ample powers. He, however, forbid him to uſe the imperial diadem, on even the moſt ſplendid occaſions, to ſhew the utmoſt deference and reſpect for the queen and the children, and to keep at a diſtance from the royal concubines.

Having, in this manner, ſettled the government, and taken every precaution that human prudence could ſuggeſt, he next turned his whole attention to the raiſing and forming a mighty army, which was to be the grand engine in all his future operations. Having thus ſettled the civil government, he made choice of thoſe of his ſubjects who were poſſeſſed of qualifications ſuitable to the high commands with which they were to be entruſted, and particularly his beloved companions, who were upwards of 1700 in number. And to ſubſtantiate his profeſſions of benevolence, beſides the favours he had beſtowed on them in common with the reſt of their countrymen, and that he and his ſucceſſors might always have a regular force ready at command for every emergency, foreign or domeſtic, he ſettled certain portions of the moſt fertile of the lands of Egypt, by lot, on his whole army; whence, a handſome and certain income ariſing to them, they might not be under the neceſſity of ſeeking for a livelihood by ſervile labour, or from mechanic callings, but wholly to apply them-

ſelves to military exerciſes. His army conſiſted of ſix hundred thouſand foot, twenty-four thouſand horſe, and twenty-ſeven thouſand chariots of war. Diodorus tells us, that he directed his march firſt into Ethiopia, and compelled the inhabitants to pay him a tribute of ebony, ivory, and gold. The quantum of each of theſe is not told us.—Another ancient geographer informs us, that he carried his conqueſts to the ſtreights of the Red Sea, where he erected a pillar with a ſacred inſcription upon it; from thence to a cinnamon country, where he alſo erected monuments and pillars with inſcriptions, which were to be ſeen many ages after.*

Seſoſtris finding, however, that he could not carry proviſions and other ſtores for his army over ſeas and oceans, to proſecute his conqueſts, without fleets, by breaking through the prejudices of his countrymen, who hated the ſea becauſe it ſwallowed up the Nile, the ſource of all their greatneſs, (and ſo they deteſted ſailors, and all who traded on the ocean) Herodotus informs us, that he was the firſt of the Egyptian kings who built ſhips of war. He had two fleets, one of 400 ſail in the Arabian gulph, and another of great force in the Mediterranean ſea. By this he gave reſpect and conſequence to the marine claſs, and put them upon the ſame footing with his troops by land. With the firſt of theſe fleets he ſailed out of the Arabian gulph into the Red Sea and Indian

* Strabo lib. 16. p. 769, 770.

ocean, ſubduing the coaſts as he went along, till being prevented from proceeding further by ſhoals and flats, when he returned back into Egypt. With his Mediterranean ſquadron he conquered Cyprus, the ſea coaſt of Phœnicia, and ſeveral iſlands of the Cyclades.†

We have little or nothing more of the naval expeditions of Seſoſtris, but all antiquity agree that he over-ran and pillaged Aſia, and ſome part of Europe. He croſſed the Ganges, on the banks of which river he erected pillars; and if we believe the poets who celebrated his victories, he erected ſimilar trophies on the remoteſt mountains in India; nay, he is ſaid to have only terminated his victories by the Pacific ocean. Returning from Aſia, he turned his arms towards Europe, and invaded the Scythians and Thracians. Hiſtory, however, tells us, that his ſucceſs in his Scythian expedition was far from being complete, having ſuffered ſome ſevere checks, if not defeats; that he fled from the Scythians, and was worſted by the Colchians. Juſtin informs us, that Seſoſtris being informed of the approach of the warlike Scythians, was

† It is worthy of remark what a man of ſuperior genius will effect. Seſoſtris not only built a mighty fleet of ſhips of war, but particularly one, which was of ſuch magnitude as to exceed any veſſel in length and ſize of which we have any account. It was 280 cubits in length, all of cedar, beautifully gilt without, inlaid with ſilver, and dedicated to Oſiris. This veſſel muſt have vaſtly exceeded any modern veſſels of war, being above twice the length of the keel of our largeſt firſt rates. B.

ſuddenly ſeized with a panic, and fled before them, leaving all his baggage and warlike ſtores to the purſuers, who followed him till they came to the borders of Egypt. Pliny relates, that he was defeated, and his army overthrown by the king of Colchis. Valerius Flaccus aſſures us, that he was defeated, and repulſed with great ſlaughter, and made to fly in thoſe countries. We quote thoſe authorities to counterbalance the accounts given us by the Greek hiſtorians, who repreſent the whole of the expeditions of Seſoſtris as one uninterrupted career of victory. Reſpecting his Thracian expedition, which was the utmoſt boundary of his progreſs weſtward in Europe, it is reported he was in danger of loſing his whole army through want of proviſions, and the difficulty of the paſſes; and, therefore, he ſtopped his progreſs.

But it is not very probable, that a mind ſo turned for high atchievements as that of Seſoſtris, or whoſe arms had, in general, been crowned with ſuch ſignal ſucceſs, could have, from a few checks and partial defeats, relinquiſhed his favourite project of attaining univerſal empire. It is more likely that his ſudden return into Egypt was occaſioned by the information which he received of his brother's revolt and diſobedience. However, his pillars were no where to be ſeen in Europe beyond Thrace. For it was his cuſtom to erect pillars in every conquered country, with this haughty inſcription, "*Seſoſtris, king of kings, and lord of lords, ſubdued this country by the power of*

his arms." Herodotus says in his account of this prince, if the nation upon whom he made war ignobly yielded to his arms, besides his usual inscription, he caused the pudenda of a woman to be carved as a mark of their effeminacy and baseness; if they had defended themselves bravely, their pillars bore the distinction of the contrary sex, in testimony of their courage.

Being certainly informed of the traiterous conduct of his brother, whom he had left sole regent, and who, taking advantage of his long absence, and possibly hearing of his repeated defeats, had assumed the diadem, violated the queen, and debauched the royal concubines; he hastened his march from Thrace, and, after an expedition of nine years continuance, came to Pelusium, attended with an infinite multitude of captives of all the conquered nations, and laden with the spoils of Asia.

This minion of fortune seems to have been favoured with the protection of an over-ruling providence. For, upon his return, the rebel Armais, or, as some write, Danaus, assuming the mask of a traitor, affected to receive him with marks of submission and joy. Under the disguise of testifying his respect for the triumphant return of his royal brother, he caused public rejoicings and magnificent entertainments to be instituted, to which he invited the king, his brother, the queen, and her children. Not suspecting any treachery, they readily accepted the invitation, but

indulging too liberally in the feſtival, they were overcome with the intoxicating powers of the vine, and were in this ſtate conveyed to reſt. The traiterous brother now haſtened to put his plot in execution. Having piled up large quantities of dried reeds, probably of the papyrus, all round the chamber where they ſlept, and ſetting fire to them, he fully expected they would periſh in the conflagration. Seſoſtris, who was awakened by the ſmoke, and the crackling of the flames, perceived that his guards, who had been intentionally intoxicated, were incapable of rendering the leaſt aſſiſtance; in this critical moment, he ſupplicated the gods in behalf of his queen and children, ruſhed through the flames, and was followed by his family. Not neglectful of the miraculous deliverance, and aſcribing it to the interpoſition of the gods, he preſented large donations to many of them, but particularly to Vulcan, the deity whom they ſuppoſed preſided over the fire. He then brought to account his baſe and villainous brother, in whom he had repoſed ſuch implicit confidence; but not willing to take his life, baniſhed him with diſgrace from Egypt. It was this traitor Armais, who is ſaid to be the Danaus of the Greeks, and concerning whoſe unfortunate family that fanciful people have feigned ſo many curious fables.

Wars at home being finiſhed, and rebellion at home being diſcovered and defeated, Seſoſtris now thought of nothing but cultivating the more laudable arts

of peace. He, first of all, adorned all the temples with trophies and rich gifts, which his arms had acquired in the fertile provinces of Asia. He then most munificently rewarded his whole army, as he had promised them previous to their setting out in the expedition. This army of Sesostris's was not only covered with laurels, gathered in the fields of fame, but they brought with them immense riches and a vast variety of necessaries and conveniencies of life hitherto unknown in Egypt, and with which they stored the whole kingdom. Sesostris now, probably, saw the wildness and folly of unbridled ambition, and the fatal effects of war, that greatest scourge of the human race; he, therefore, disbanded his numerous forces, leaving them in the undisturbed possession both of the lands he had assigned them, and of the spoils they had procured in the war.

Still, however, his ambition for lasting renown remained in his breast unimpaired. But happily for the repose of mankind, it took a different and more commendable turn. For now he endeavoured to immortalize his name by such stupendous works, as might not only perpetuate his fame throughout all ages, but might equally contribute to the most substantial advantages for the public good.

But even in these mighty works he proceeded with order and regularity. He divided them into religious, military, and civil. As, upon his outset in his wars, he had implored the assistance of all the gods,

ſo, in gratitude, he now built and richly endowed a temple in every city of Egypt, which he dedicated to the tutelar deity of the place. And, yet, what may ſeem ſurprizing, ſo vaſt were his reſources, that he put no one Egyptian to any contribution towards rearing ſuch coſtly ſtructures, nor did he even require the manual labour of a ſingle ſubject of his kingdom; and to commemorate this patriotic and paternal indulgence towards his people, there was this inſcription on all the temples, "*No one native laboured herein.*"* But as he imagined he had peculiar obligations to the god Vulcan for his deliverance from the fire kindled by his treacherous brother, he erected, in the city of Memphis, before the temple of that god, ſix gigantic ſtatues, which were each of one ſingle ſtone; two of them were 30 cubits high, and repreſented himſelf and his wife; the other four were 20 cubits, and repreſented his four ſons.† He beſides, raiſed two obeliſks of marble, 120 cubits in height.

* It may be obſerved, that Seſoſtris, in exempting the Egyptians from the labour attending thoſe public works which he raiſed, affords a kind of colour to the ſuppoſition that he was the prince under whom the Jews were ſo much oppreſſed. A.

† After a ſeries of ages, when Egypt was reduced under the power of Perſia, Darius, the father of Xerxes, was deſirous of placing an image of himſelf at Memphis, before the ſtatue of Seſoſtris. This was ſtremouſly oppoſed by the chief prieſt in an aſſembly of his order, who aſſerted, that the acts of

Diodorus, who dwells with particular pleaſure on thoſe works which he executed for the public good, informs us, that, to prevent the incurſions of the Syrians on one ſide, and the plundering Arabs on the other, from making deſtructive inroads into the fertile plains of Egypt, he fortified the eaſt ſide of his kingdom with a wall, and chain of forts, which ran from Peluſium, through the deſart, to Heliopolis, 1500 furlongs, or 187 miles, for the purpoſe of ſecuring its external ſafety. To the honour of this prince, he was the firſt who knew how to diſtribute, by numberleſs canals, the fructifying waters of the Nile to every part of the kingdom, even through the Lybian deſart, by which means it was rendered one vaſt blooming garden, as well as the rich plains of the Delta. It is true, even this work of incalculable national advantage was viewed by ſome with a malevolent eye; obſerving, that Egypt, formerly famous for horſes and chariots of war, was now by theſe liquid interſections rendered unfit for both; and, like modern Holland, where no formidable bodies of cavalry can penetrate with ſafety. To ſecure, likewiſe, the habitations of his ſubjects from the inundation of the Nile, he raiſed, from the earth which was dug from thoſe

Darius had not yet ſurpaſſed thoſe of Seſoſtris. The king did not take this freedom amiſs, but was rather pleaſed with it; ſaying, that if he lived as long as Seſoſtris, he would endeavour to equal him. DIODORUS.

Herodotus relates this anecdote to the ſame purport. A.

canals, aſſiſted by the ſtones of the granite quarries, mounds and cauſeways. On theſe eminences towns and cities were built, which, during the annual overflow of the river, towered above the waters, and appeared as ſo many iſlands in the ocean. Several of theſe cauſeways ſtill ſurvive the wreck of ages, and leave an indelible impreſſion of the excellence and durability of the workmanſhip.

The yoke of dominion upon conquered nations is not always borne with patience and ſubmiſſion. This, we are informed, was the caſe with the Chaldeans, who roſe and reſolved, at all hazards, to ſhake off their bondage under Seſoſtris; but, upon an offer of pardon, and a proper ſituation being granted the revolters, they were pacified, and Seſoſtris built them a city, which they called Babylon. But what tarniſhed all his glory, and threw a ſhade upon his moſt brilliant atchievments, was, his inſufferable inſolence and haughtineſs towards the princes he had ſubdued in war. Diodorus informs us, that he uſed, upon certain occaſions, to unharneſs his horſes and yoke kings together, and make them draw his chariot! This inhuman practice, unworthy of a conqueror and of a man, he continued, ſeemingly without remorſe and without generoſity, till the uſeful reflection of one of the captive kings placed the odiouſneſs of his conduct in a proper point of view. As he drew Seſoſtris along, he looked with a fixed ſtedfaſtneſs back on one of the wheels, which occaſioned the queſtion

of what engaged his thoughts that he kept his eye ſo fixed behind him? He made this memorable reply, that may ſerve as a leſſon to all the ſons of pride,—"*O king, the going round of the wheel calls to my mind the viciſſitudes of fortune; for as every part of the wheel is uppermoſt and lowermoſt by turns, ſo it is with men, who one day ſit on a throne, and the next are reduced to the vileſt degree of ſlavery.*"——This inſtructive and affecting obſervation of the captive prince, ſtruck with concern the haughty tyrant; and, like another conqueror, ages after the æra of this event,

"Revolving in his alter'd ſoul
"The various turns of fate below;"

he not only unyoked the captive princes, but ſent them home to their reſpective kingdoms, who proved till his death his ſteady and powerful friends.* At

* The benevolent reader will diſcover in the treatment of theſe captives, a reſemblance to the fate and conduct of the brave, but unfortunate Briton, Caraclacus. "When he was brought to Rome," ſays Dr Goldſmith, "nothing could exceed the curioſity of the people to behold a man, who had, for ſo many years, braved the power of the empire. On his part he teſtified no marks of baſe dejection; but, as he was led in chains through the ſtreets, happening to obſerve the ſplendour of every object around him, 'Alas,' cried he, 'how is it poſſible that people poſſeſſed of ſuch magnificence at home could think of envying Caraclacus, an humble cottage in Britain.' When he was brought before the emperor, while the other captives ſued for pity with the moſt abject lamentations, Caraclacus ſtood before the tribunal with an intrepid air, and ſeemed rather willing to accept of his liberty, than meanly ſolicitous of ſuing for it.—'If,' ſaid he, 'I

length Seſoſtris loſt his ſight, and impatient of the burden of life, by being thus deprived of one of the richeſt ſources of pleaſure, he put a period to his own exiſtence.

The prieſts, for whom his bounty knew no bounds, extolled the manner of his death, as the higheſt act of magnanimity. That nothing might be wanting to cover his memory with glory, they pretended alſo that the Phœnix came to Thebes during his reign.

We have already obſerved, that the long reign of Seſoſtris was one of the moſt ſplendid and proſperous periods of the Egyptian hiſtory. It is on that account we have been rather full in collecting, from the beſt informed hiſtorians, the moſt prominent features of his character, and the moſt important incidents of his reign. He ſeems to be the firſt who divided Egypt into nomes or provinces, and its inhabitants into orders and diſtinct claſſes. He was the firſt Egyptian who was formidable by ſea, and the firſt who erected a great empire in the world. But the principal mark of his wiſdom was, prudently knowing when to ſet bounds to his ambition, and to exchange the deſtructive weapons of war for the uſeful arts of peace.

had yielded immediately and without oppoſition, neither my fortune would have been remarkable, nor your glory memorable; you would have ceaſed to be victorious, and I had been forgotten. If now, therefore, you ſpare my life, and grant me liberty, I ſhall continue a perpetual example of your power and your clemency." To the honour of Claudius, the brave Briton was generouſly pardoned.

A.

CHAP. III.

The succession of kings, from the death of Sesostris, to the invasion of Egypt by the Persians, under Cambyses.

FROM the death of Sesostris, which has occasioned so much difference of opinion respecting the period of his reign and the transactions which he performed, we shall now proceed to consider the reign of

SESOSTRIS II.

Like his predecessor, learned men are disagreed respecting the age in which he lived, and even the name by which he was called. By some he is plausibly supposed to have been the first Pharaoh of the Egyptians, while others entitle him Pheron; but the general name by which he was distinguished was Sesostris the second.

His reign was as inglorious and inactive, as his father's had been splendid and enterprizing. Indeed, in one sense, this might proceed from a natural cause, for, like his father, he had the misfortune to be struck blind, which was said, by the superstitious Egyptians of his time, to be inflicted on him as a punishment for a rash and impious action of his respecting the Nile. For, at one time, when the river had overflowed the country to an unusual height, a gale of wind arose, and greatly disturbed the waters; at which he expri-

ciously took offence, and, in a rage, impiously darted a javelin among the waves. Upon this, he was immediately seized with a pain in his eyes, and was soon after followed with total darkness, which oppressed him for ten years.* The manner and means of his recovery are too childish and indelicate for a place in history; we, therefore, pass it over in silence. However, for this pretended miraculous restoration of his sight, in the language of priestcraft, he devoutly performed his vows in several rich oblations; and to the god of day, the sun, he particularly raised two magnificent obelisks, in the temple of that deity, in Heliopolis.

AMASIS I.†

There is a great chasm in the succession of the Egyptian princes, from the reign of Pheron, or Sesostris II. to a remote period. Nothing certain respecting the manner how, and by whom, that people had been governed for several ages; nor is this at all surprizing, the country having been so frequently over-run by foreigners, and their ancient records being destroyed,

* Volney, when he treats of blindness in Egypt, observes, that the ancient Egyptians, who went bareheaded, were never afflicted with ophthalmias. In this respect his opinion is disproved by historical facts, and this complaints appears to have been, and still continues, peculiar to Egypt.—See vol. I. page 317. A.

† It is observed by Herodotus, that the priests told him Proteus succeeded the reign of Sesostris II. A.

place it out of the power of the hiſtorian to hand down to poſterity any well-authenticated accounts of the hiſtory of that people, as Herodotus pathetically laments. Diodorus informs us, that the ſceptre fell into the hands of Amaſis, or Amoſis, long after the death of Pheron. He was one of thoſe ſcourges whom Providence permits to reign for the puniſhment of mankind, and he tyrannized with relentleſs cruelty over the unhappy Egyptians. Many he condemned to death, without the form of trial, for no other reaſon than to gratify his capricious and bloody mind; and towards the whole people he behaved with inſufferable arrogance. Incapable of ſupporting ſuch inhuman tyranny, and yet unable to free themſelves from the fangs of this monſter in human ſhape, they groaned for a painful period, not daring to reſiſt ſo dreadful a power. But emancipation and deliverance came to that oppreſſed people from a quarter, as is often the caſe, whence they did not expect it. Actiſanes, a prince of Ethiopia, invaded Egypt. He, no doubt, was prompted to the undertaking by the proſpect of an eaſy conqueſt of that country, from the alienation of the moſt virtuous Egyptians, under the government of Amaſis. It is highly credible, too, that, in his manifeſtoes, he would aſſure the Egyptians that he had no other motive for taking up arms than the intereſts of humanity, and no other views than their emancipation and the reſtoration of their privileges, with a full enjoyment of their ancient

liberties. Be that as it may, he no ſooner approached the borders of Egypt, than the inhabitants flocked to his ſtandard, and aſſiſted him in driving their unnatural prince from the throne, which he ſo ill deſerved to fill. However, by this powerful junction of the natives to his own army, he found no difficulty in aſcending the throne of Egypt, retaining his own hereditary kingdom of Ethiopia at the ſame time.

Previous, however, to our being more particular reſpecting the tranſactions of Actiſanes, a circumſtance of a ſingular nature happened in Egypt, which we muſt not paſs over in ſilence. It has been already obſerved, that a vaſt inundation of banditti, terming themſelves ſhepherds, had overwhelmed and taken poſſeſſion of that country, which they held during ſeveral centuries. The time for their expulſion now arrived. A prince, called by a name ſomewhat reſembling Amoſis, Thummoſis, or Tethmoſis, undertook the arduous enterprize of expelling theſe uncultivated barbarians from the country. Having collected a powerful army, conſiſting of 480,000 men, he blocked up the paſtor army in the city of Abaris, or Peluſium. The place, however, being ſtrong, and powerfully garriſoned, he deſpaired of carrying it by ſiege, and therefore entered into a capitulation with them, by which it was agreed that they ſhould entirely quit Egypt, and march which way they pleaſed without moleſtation. With theſe terms the beſieged complied, and emigrated, with their families, to the num-

ber of 240,000, and, taking the way of the deſart, entered Syria; but fearing the Aſſyrians, they built for themſelves a ſtrong city in Paleſtine, called Jeruſalem. Formerly, when we mentioned the Paſtor invaſion, Perizonius, an eminent chronologiſt, maintains, that theſe ſhepherds and the Iſraelites were the ſame, and that the Exodus of the latter people, and the expulſion of the ſhepherds, were only one and the ſame event. But the Egyptian hiſtory being hitherto involved in palpable darkneſs, and contradictory to the Moſaic account, there can be no certain reliance upon relations of this nature. Sir Iſaac Newton places this expulſion in the year 1070 before Chriſt, or 62 years before Seſoſtris', or Seſac's, firſt expedition into Africa.*

ACTISANES.

This prince, as has been obſerved, having united Egypt and Ethiopia under his dominion, became ſovereign of both kingdoms. Contrary to the tenor of conduct obſerved by moſt conquerors, he bore his proſperity with great moderation and prudence, and ſhewed ſtrong and grateful affection for his new ſub-

* As to the 200,000 ſhepherds which we are told came from Jeruſalem to aſſiſt the leprous Egyptians under Oſarſiphus, and the wars they were engaged in with Amenophis, king of Egypt, we refer our readers to Joſephus againſt Apion, not knowing where to give a place to theſe tranſactions in the courſe of Egyptian hiſtory. Joſephus arraigns the whole ſtory as fabulous.

jects. During the frequent interregnums and the deteſtable government of his predeceſſor, when the eſtabliſhed laws and wholeſome inſtitutions were ſet aſide, all civil policy was unhinged, the virtuous had left the country, and of conſequence it was overrun with robbers and dangerous banditti. This new prince, wiſely judging that ſo long as theſe free-booters infeſted the country, there could be no ſecurity for either perſon or property, he therefore ſent out an armed force, ſeized on a great number of them, and, after giving them a fair trial, he commanded their noſes to be cut off, and ſent them to the remoteſt part between Syria and Egypt, where he built them a town, which was called Rhinocolura, from the diſfigurement of its infamous inhabitants. This part was ſo barren, that it ſcarcely afforded any one neceſſary of life, for even the few wells and ponds found there, were brackiſh, and unpleaſant to the taſte. But neceſſity, which will invent unthought-of reſources, ſuggeſted to them a method of ſupplying themſelves with food. This they did, by making long nets of ſlit reeds, and with which they caught numbers of quails, which came in flocks from the ſea ſhore. Yet this afforded them only a ſcanty and precarious ſupply.—How long Actiſanes reigned, and the time and manner of his death, we are not informed of; but, upon his demiſe, it ſeems the Egyptians were left to chooſe a king from among themſelves. The name of this prince was

MENDES.

This prince has likewiſe been entitled Marus. His reign is ſignalized for no important events, as far as the fragments which remain of his hiſtory inform us. One piece of moſt curious architecture is, however, aſcribed to him, as Manetho has recorded. It was one of the ſepulchral labyrinths. This building was not ſo wonderful for its extent and magnitude, as for its inimitable contrivance, which was ſo intricate and perplexing, that it was impoſſible to find the way out, without the help of a moſt experienced guide. When he died is alſo unknown, as is the æra when he commenced his reign, and the period of its continuance.

PROTEUS.

A vaſt period of time intervened between the death of Mendes and a regular ſucceſſor to the throne of Egypt. An interregnum of five generations enſued upon the death of that prince, during which, anarchy, and all the concomitant evils attending upon inſubordination, convulſed the nation, and rent it to pieces. Chance ſeems to have inclined the Egyptians to make choice of a Memphite, neither diſtinguiſhed for his fortune nor his birth. His Egyptian name was Cetes, which the inventive genius of the Greeks transformed into Proteus. A celebrated chronologiſt, Perizonius, obſerves, that this obſcure prince was the Sethos of Manetho, and the Typhon of the poets.

Sir Iſaac Newton ſeems to think, that the account given by Herodotus, about the landing of Paris of Troy with Helen, driven on the coaſt of Egypt, in a ſtorm, during this prince's reign, is founded in hiſtorical truth. He imagines that Proteus, whoſe Greek name only ſignifies a prince, or preſident, might have been a governor of ſome part of Lower Egypt, under Amenophes; and obſerves, that Homer places him on the ſea coaſt, and calls him the ſervant of Neptune.*

* Mr Briant obſerves, that Proteus was an Egyptian title of the deity, under which he was worſhipped both at Pharos and Memphis. He was the ſame as Oſiris and Canobus, and particularly the god of Mariners, who confined his department to the ſea; from hence, ſays he, we may unravel the hiſtory about the pilot of Menelaus, who is ſaid to have been named Canobus, and to have given name to the principal ſeaport in Egypt.—No antique figure has yet been met with of Proteus: Upon this circumſtance, Mr Spencer remarks, that his character was far more manageable for poets, than for ſculptors or painters. The former might very well deſcribe all the variety of ſhapes that he could put on, and point out the tranſition from one to the other; but the artiſts muſt have been content to ſhew him either in his own natural ſhape, or in ſome one alone of all his various forms. Of this deity, the beſt deſcription is given in the Georgics of Virgil. BELOE.

Euſtathius enumerates various opinions concerning Proteus; ſome underſtand Proteus allegorically to ſignify the firſt matter which undergoes all change; others make him an emblem of true friendſhip, which ought not to be ſettled till it has been tried in all ſhapes; others make Proteus a picture of a flatterer, who takes up all ſhapes, and ſuits himſelf to all forms, in compliance to the temper of the perſon whom he courts. The Greeks (ſays Diodorus)

Both Herodotus and Diodorus, however, place his reign coeval with the Trojan war. The prieſts, find-

imagined all theſe metamorphoſes of Proteus to have been borrowed from the practice of the Egyptian kings, who were accuſtomed to wear the figures of lions, bulls or dragons, in their diadems, as emblems of royalty, and ſometimes that of trees, &c, not ſo much for ornament as terror. Others took Proteus to be an enchanter; and Euſtathius recounts ſeveral that were eminent in this art; as Cratiſthenes the Phliaſian (which Dacier renders by miſtake Caliſthenes the Phyſician) who when he pleaſed could appear all on fire, and aſſume other appearances, to the aſtoniſhment of the ſpectators: ſuch alſo was Xenophon, Scymnus of Tarentum, Philippides of Syracuſe, Heraclitus of Mitylene, and Nymphodorus, all practiſ. rs of magical arts; and Euſtathius recites that the Phocæ were made uſe of in their incantations. Some write that Proteus was an Egyptian tumbler, who could throw himſelf into variety of figures and poſtures; others, a ſtage player; others, that he was a great general, ſkilled in all the arts and ſtratagems of war: Dacier looks upon him to have been an enchanter. It is certain, from Herodotus, that there was in the times of Menelaus a king named Proteus, who reigned in Memphis; that Egypt was always remarkable for thoſe who excelled in magical arts; thus Jannes and Jambres changed, at leaſt in appearance, a rod into a ſerpent, and water into blood: it is not therefore improbable but that Menelaus, hearing of him while he was in Egypt, went to conſult him as an enchanter, which kind of men always pretended to foreknow events. This perhaps was the real foundation of the whole ſtory concerning Proteus; the reſt is the fiction and embelliſhment of the poet, who aſcribes to his Proteus whatever the credulity of men uſually aſcribes to enchanters.

WAKEFIELD's Pope's Homer's Odyſſey, book 4, p. 226.

ing him a proper perſon to impoſe upon the credulity of the public, gave out, that he was ſkilled in the weather, or a magician, and pretended he could aſſume any ſhape or form he pleaſed, even that of the element of fire. Diodorus, however, tells us, that this fable, as propagated by the fanciful Greeks, took its origin from a cuſtom among the Egyptians, and perhaps introduced by Proteus, who were uſed to adorn and diſtinguiſh the heads of their kings with the figures of animals, or vegetables, or even with burning incenſe, as ſo many enſigns of royalty, and to ſtrike the beholders with dread and religious veneration. Herodotus, as has been hinted already, informs us, that, while Proteus reigned, Paris, or Alexander, was driven on the coaſt of Egypt by a ſtorm, and there landed with Helen, the beautiful wife of Menelaus, a prince of Greece, whoſe rape occaſioned the ſiege and overthrow of Troy, as celebrated in the immortal ſong of Homer.* But when Proteus heard of the perfidious breach of hoſpitality which this young prince had committed, he ſeized upon him, his miſtreſs and companions, with all the riches he had brought away with him from Greece. As for Helen,

* Upon no ſubject, ancient or modern, have writers been more divided, than about the preciſe period of the Trojan war. Larcher, after diſcuſſing the ſubject very fully in his eſſay on chronology, is of opinion, and his arguments appear to me at leaſt ſatisfactory, that it took place 1263 years before the vulgar æra.

and her husband's effects, he detained them, promising to restore both to the injured party whenever demanded. But he commanded Paris and his companions to depart out of his dominions within three days, upon pain of being treated as enemies.†

Proteus had a very rich and sumptuous temple dedicated to his honor at Memphis, as being

† Thus, according to the narrative of the priests, did Helen come to the court of Proteus. I conceive this circumstance could not be unknown to Homer, but as he thought it less ornamental to his poem, he forebore to use it. That he actually did know it, is evident from that part of the Iliad where he describes the voyage of Paris, which evidence he has no where retracted.—For a description of which, see Homer's Iliad 6, & Odyss. 4.—After the loss of Helen, the Greeks assembled in great numbers at Teucris to assist Menelaus; they disembarked and encamped; they then dispatched embassadors to Troy, whom Menelaus himself accompanied. On their arrival, they made a formal demand of Helen, of the wealth which Paris had at the same time clandestinely taken, as well as general satisfaction for the injury. The Trojans then and afterwards uniformly persisted in declaring that they had neither the person nor the wealth of Helen, but that both were in Egypt, and that they thought it hard that they should be made responsible for what Proteus, king of Egypt, certainly possessed. The Greeks, believing themselves deluded, laid siege to Troy, and persevered till they took it. But when Helen was not to be found in the captured town, they at length obtained credit, and Menelaus himself was dispatched to Proteus.—Herodotus.—It may scarcely be necessary to add, that the object of their ten years fighting and butchering the hopeful Trojans was obtained, when Menelaus arrived in Egypt. His queen was restored, and the wealth was returned.

ranked among the demigods of the Egyptians. He left a ſon, who fell heir to his throne, whoſe name was

RHAMPSINITUS.

Here again the chronologiſts are loſt in conjecture who Rhampſinitus, or Remphis, was. Sir John Marſham, Perizon, Sir Iſaac Newton, &c. all diſagree in their opinions reſpecting this ſucceſſor of Proteus. Moſt, however, fix his reign coeval with the Trojan war. But it is of little conſequence to mankind when he reigned, as hiſtory does not hand down one ſingle action he did, either worthy of his royal ſtation, or bequeathing an exemplary pattern to poſterity. His whole ſoul was abſorbed in the love of money, a vice highly diſhonourable to a ſovereign, and muſt leſſen him in the eſteem of all his ſubjects. A ſordid king is a contemptible character.

Diodorus repreſents him to have been ſo ſordidly avaricious, that, during his whole reign, he rather acted the part of a mean-ſpirited ſteward, than that of a king; and was ſo totally devoted to this object, that he availed himſelf of no opportunity that might tend either to promote his own honour or the good of his country. Owing to this inſatiable deſire for money, he left behind him ſo immenſe a treaſure as 400,000 talents.

Yet Herodotus, although he reprobates his love of money, ſays of him, that he added the weſtern portico to the temple of Vulcan, and erected two ſtatues before it, each 25 cubits high. One of them faced

towards the north, and was adored by the Egyptians under the title of ſummer; the other looked towards the ſouth, and went by the name of winter, and was abhored by that capricious people. The following very curious ſtory reſpecting this prince is narrated by Herodotus, which we ſhall give entire. "This king," ſays the hiſtorian, "had accumulated a far greater ſtore of wealth than any monarch of Egypt that ſucceeded him; and being deſirous to depoſit it in ſome ſecure place, ordered a treaſury to be ſtrongly built for that purpoſe. The architect, employed in this work, placed one of the ſtones in ſo artful a manner, that it might be taken out and replaced by one man only, he having a deſign, at ſome future period, to ſhare in the riches with his royal maſter. But about the time when the treaſure was depoſited in his ſtrong hold, the architect was taken ſuddenly ill, and finding himſelf at the point of death, ſent for his two ſons. To them he declared the whole artifice, and gave them the moſt exact directions in the management of the buſineſs, which he now foreſaw would never be his own fate to accompliſh. The father died, and the young men went to the treaſury, and found every circumſtance correſpond with what their father had told them. They thus found an eaſy admittance, and robbed the king to a conſiderable amount, which was repeated for ſome time every ſucceeding night. When the miſer Rhampſinitus went to view his heaps, he was ſurprized to find it con-

ſiderably leſſened, and the more, becauſe he ſaw his ſeal on the door untouched, the only part of the building which he conceived could give admittance. The two brothers continued their nightly depredations, till the king, after two or three further ſurveys, was perfectly ſenſible that his wealth ſuffered a continued decreaſe. Convinced that ſome perſon muſt be the perpetrator, he ordered ſnares to be placed all round the veſſels which contained his money. The brothers, as uſual, paid their nightly viſit, and one of them, in the act of ſeizing the treaſure, was enſnared. Under this ſurprize, the priſoner called to his brother who ſtood without, and earneſtly beſought him, for his own ſafety, to cut of his head, and effectually prevent the diſcovery of the plot. The brother complied with the requeſt, went in and did as deſired; and putting the ſtone in its place again, took the head away with him. Early next morning the king came to ſee the event of his project, but was quite aſtoniſhed to find a man caught without a head. He went out again in great confuſion of thought; but directed, however, that the body ſhould be hung on the outſide of the wall, expoſed to public view, charging the guard appointed to take care of it, that they ſhould make a narrow inſpection into the countenances of the ſpectators, and whoever betrayed ſigns of ſorrow was to be brought into his preſence. When the mother of the deceaſed heard that her ſon was expoſed in this manner, ſhe was

diſtracted with grief, and upbraiding her ſurviving ſon, threatned a diſcovery if he did not procure his brother's body. The young man remonſtrated with her on the impracticability of performing her requeſt, but to no purpoſe, for ſhe perſiſted ſtill in her threats. Therefore, finding that ſomething muſt be contrived to gratify his noiſy mother, he conſulted how he ſhould ſucceed in ſuch an enterprize. And, at length, loading his aſſes with ſkins of wine, he drove them towards the place where the body was ſuſpended. Having reached the guard, he privately opened ſome of the ſkins, and, as ſoon as the wine was obſerved running, he beat himſelf on the head, and affected to be utterly undone. In the mean time, the ſoldiers upon duty ran to the aſſes with pots, to ſave as much of the liquor for themſelves as they could, while he reproached them for the pleaſure they took in his misfortune, inſtead of giving him their aſſiſtance.

By making apologies and promiſes he pretended to be paçified, and leading the aſſes out of the way, pretended to be very buſy in ſecuring the remainder of the wine. While he was doing this, the guards ſtood laughing and joking with him, when he at laſt conſented to give them a ſkin of wine; and they, in return for ſo great a favour, preſſed him to ſtay and take part of it with them. He did ſo, and when this ſkin was emptied, he gave them another; ſo that, drinking to exceſs, the whole guard was intoxicated, and fell into a deep ſleep. By watching his oppor-

tunity, and perceiving it to be the dead of night, he went to the body, and, after taking it down, laid it acroſs an aſs, and, ſhaving the right cheek of each of the ſoldiers by way of deriſion, went away with the corpſe of his dead brother, which he carried home to his mother. The news of this additional circumſtance rendered the whole plot ſtill more ſurprizing.

In order to diſcover the perſon who had done it, the king adopted the following expedient. He ordered his daughter to proſtitute herſelf, in a certain apartment of the palace, to all perſons promiſcuouſly; but under this reſtriction, that ſhe ſhould, previouſly, extort from each of them a confeſſion of the moſt ingenious intreague he had ever managed, and the moſt wicked crime he had ever committed. His daughter obeyed, and did as ſhe was inſtructed; and when the thief heard of this extraordinary procedure, he reſolved to perplex the king a little further. With this view, he got the arm of a body newly dead, and taking it under his cloak, paid a viſit to the king's daughter. She examined him in the ſame form, and to the ſame purpoſe as the reſt that had been with her before him; when he, in return, frankly confeſſed, that the moſt abominable and wicked action of his life was the cutting off his brother's head, when enſnared in the treaſury; and that the moſt ingenious thing he had ever done, was the ſtealing the body from the guard that kept it. She then offered to lay hold on him, which he perceiving, held out the dead arm, which

ſhe graſping, he, favoured by the darkneſs of the night, took the opportunity of making his eſcape. Rhampſinitus's rage was now converted into admiration of the boldneſs and ingenuity of the man; and, therefore, he had it proclaimed in every city, that if the perpetrator of the deed would diſcover himſelf, he ſhould not only be pardoned, but greatly rewarded. The young man confiding in the promiſe of the monarch, immediately made himſelf known. In the end, the king gave him his daughter in marriage, and accounted him far ſuperior in wiſdom to any man then living upon earth." Thus far Herodotus relates this amuſing ſtory, although he adds, that he does not warrant every particular of it.—The ridiculous tale of Rhampſinitus deſcending into the infernal regions, where he played at dice with Ceres, and that ſhe preſented him with a golden bowl, ſeem to be only allegorical deſcriptions of agricultural experiments, which were ſometimes ſucceſsful and ſometimes otherwiſe, as Ceres was ſuppoſed to be the goddeſs which preſided over harveſt.

Yet, although his royal character was debaſed by his boundleſs avarice, hiſtory reports him to have reigned with great prudence and juſtice, and that good order, till his death, uninterruptedly ſubſiſted throughout the kingdom.

Diodorus informs us, that Rhampſinitus was ſucceeded by ſeven other princes of nameleſs fame and ignoble characters. One, however, may be excepted

from that charge, more on account of the celebrity of his name (being called Nilus) than for any brilliant atchievements which he performed. However, he is ſaid to have been extremely active in rendering the Nile as univerſally ſerviceable as poſſible, by cutting numbers of canals through every part of the kingdom. And the hiſtorian tells us, that it was from the æra of his reign that the river had its name changed from Ægyptus to that of Nilus, which has continued through all ſucceeding ages to the preſent period.

The ſucceſſor to Nilus, and the eighth from Rhampſinitus, is, by Diodorus, named

CHEOPS, CHEMMIS, OR CHEMBES.

Herodotus arranges the ſucceſſion of Egyptian princes in another manner, and places no diſtance between Rhampſinitus and this king. Sir Iſaac Newton ſuſpects that he intended himſelf to be worſhipped after death, and ſuppoſes that he was, from that motive, diſtinguiſhed by the different names of Chemmis, Phiops, Appus, Appathus, Suphis, and by a long liſt of appellatives. Yet all his titles, and his deſire for immortality, could not preſerve his memory from diſgrace and execration. For Herodotus informs us, that he was branded for his impiety and tyranny. He commenced his reign in a very inauſpicious manner, by ſhutting up the temples of the gods, and forbidding all public ſacrifices. From theſe impieties

he proceeded, by a natural gradation, to exercise his injuſtice and his tyranny upon men; and, ſetting aſide all laws, and invading the liberties of his people, he reduced them to a ſtate of the moſt oppreſſive ſlavery. He ſent great numbers to hew ſtones in the quarries and mountains of Arabia, and to tranſport them into Egypt, till at laſt he completed their oppreſſion by employing many thouſands in rearing the largeſt of the three great pyramids. By this, and other vain-glorious works of the ſame kind, his treaſury was ſo exhauſted, and his finances ſo low, that, ſays the hiſtorian, he expoſed his daughter to common proſtitution, telling her, in general terms, to make the moſt of her perſon.* She complied with this infamous injunction; and, actuated by a ſimilar ambition for fame, required of each of her gallants to contribute a ſtone of a certain magnitude towards a building which ſhe had in view.

* This account of the king's proſtituting his daughter has been thought ſo full of horror, that the truth of this relation has been diſputed; but we have, in our own country, an inſtance of as horrid a crime, in a huſband's proſtituting his wife merely for his diverſion. See the ſtate trials in the caſe of Mervin, Lord Audley.

The acts of magnificence which the courtezans of antiquity were enabled to accompliſh from the produce of their charms, almoſt exceed belief. It is told of Lamia, the charming miſtreſs of Demetrius Poliorcetes, that ſhe erected, at Sicyon, a portico, ſo beautiful and ſuperb, that an author named Polemo wrote a book to deſcribe it. EDIT.

With the ſtones ſo collected, a ſtrange account of the number of her favours, ſhe built a ſmall pyramid in the middle of thoſe built in the plains of Geeza.

For half a century did this inhuman tyrant oppreſs and beggar the kingdom of Egypt, when death put a period to his life, and his crimes together.†

† It is not eaſy to ſee what could induce M. de Paw to attempt the vindication of this prince, and to reject as fabulous what Herodotus relates of his deſpotiſm, as if this were not the infirmity of theſe princes, and as if they did not all endeavour to eſtabliſh it within their dominions. Egypt enjoyed good laws at the firſt; they were obſerved during ſome ages, and the people were conſequently happy; but their princes endeavoured to free themſelves from the reſtraints impoſed upon them, and by degrees they ſucceeded. M. de Voltaire was juſtified in conſidering the conſtruction of the pyramids as a proof of the ſlavery of the Ægyptians; and it is with much juſtice he remarks, that it would be impoſſible to compel the Engliſh to erect ſimilar maſſes, who are far more powerful than the Egyptians at that time were. This is perfectly true, and M. de Paw, in attacking Voltaire, has wandered from the queſtion. He ought to have proved, that the kings of England were really able to compel their ſubjects to raiſe ſimilar monuments, as Herodotus poſitively aſſerts of the princes of Egypt. He ought, I ſay, to have proved this, and not to have advanced that the cultivation of their lands coſt the Engliſh nine times more labour than it does in Egypt; and that their marine in one year occaſions the deſtruction of more people than the conſtruction of all the pyramids would have done in a long ſeries of ages. M. de Paw would not ſee that a ſpirit of ambition, a deſire of wealth, &c. induce the Engliſh eagerly to undertake the moſt laborious enterprizes; that they

CEPHRENES, CEPHREN, OR CHABRYIS.

These different names are said, by different authors, to be the prince who succeeded the flagitious Cheops; but, although we are left in uncertainty whether he was the son of that king, or any relation of his, yet we are informed by Herodotus, that he trod in the footsteps of his predecessor. It is said that he oppressed the people by building another pyramid, which, however, fell much short of the former in grandeur and extent. Fifty-six years was he the scourge of an oppressed people. It has been remarked by all historians, that although the intention of rearing these huge masses of building was to not only to perpetuate the renown of their founders through all generations, and to brave the ravages of time itself, but also to serve as their eternal mansions, to use the Egyptian phrase; yet neither of these oppressive tyrants were deposited in them after death. Their friends, seeing the indignation which their inhumanity had excited, and dreading the resentment with which the people threatened to treat the dead bodies of these princes, privately buried them where they could never be found.

Such was the distressed and miserable condition of

are not obliged to do this; and, in one word, that it is optional with them. On the contrary, the Egyptians were compelled by their sovereigns to labours the most painful, humiliating, and servile. LARCHER.

Egypt, by the reſtleſs and oppreſſive ambition of two tyrants, for one hundred and ſix years. A more happy period now arrived, by the acceſſion of a prince to the government, who was poſſeſſed of a temper, and purſued a tenor of conduct, quite different from that of his predeceſſors. The name of this new ſovereign was

MYCERINUS, OR CHERINUS, THE SON OF CHEOPS.

Deteſting the impiety and injuſtice of his father and his uncle, he opened the temples, reinſtated the ſacrifices, and left the miſerable people to the agreeable purſuits of their private affairs. He was of ſo mild and of humane a nature, that, if any complaint was made of a hard ſentence adjudged in a matter of property, he would ſatisfy the party aggrieved to the amount of the loſs out of his own private treaſure. Surrounded with the virtuous and the good, followed with the bleſſings of the induſtrious, and the heart-felt applauſe of all ranks and conditions of his people, a ſevere domeſtic calamity befel him, in the death of his favourite daughter. He felt the loſs in all the bitterneſs of paternal anguiſh, and lamented her death with marks of affection new and uncommon. Cauſing a hollow wooden image of a cow to be made, and richly gilt with gold, he depoſited therein the body of his deceaſed daughter. This cow, or properly coffin in that ſhape, was never interred, but was publicly placed in a magnificent chamber of the

palace of Sais, before which they burned the moſt exquiſite odours by day, and illuminated the place by night with lamps.

In a room contiguous to this were twenty naked images of women, which the prieſts of Sais reported to have been the concubines of Mycerinus. Fable took hold of this new mode of mourning, and grafted a ſtory upon it, of Mycerinus having conceived an inceſtuous affection for his own daughter, which ſhe being unwilling to gratify, he violently forced and deflowered the virtuous maid. Stung with inconſolable grief, and having no enjoyment of life, ſince all the ſweets of innocence had left her, ſhe ſuſpended herſelf, and ſo was found dead. The twenty naked ſtatues, ſays the fable, were her women, who had been the inſtruments in betraying her to her parent's unnatural luſt, and therefore had their hands cut off by the queen. In the time of Herodotus, theſe figures, indeed, appeared without hands, but he thinks they had fallen off through the length of time, as they lay ſcattered upon the floor of the apartment. The hiſtorian adds, that the cow was in a kneeling poſture, and as large as any living animal of that ſpecies. Its neck and head were richly overlayed with gold; and between the horns there was a golden circle, in imitation of the ſun. Its body was covered with a fine Syrian purple carpet. This ſepulchral image was removed once a year from the apartment where it ſtood, and expoſed to the open day, in con-

ſequence of a requeſt the daughter had made to her father, that ſhe might behold the ſun once every year. Such were the fatal effects of this ſtoried, inceſtuous love.*

This circumſtance of the death of his beloved daughter, was, in itſelf, a ſevere trial of parental patience. One ſtill more ſo, and which more nearly concerned himſelf, followed cloſe upon the other. It was denounced againſt him from the oracle at Butos, that he had but ſix years more to live, and that in the ſeventh he ſhould ſurely die. Although there is a natural anxiety in the human mind to know the period of our mortal exiſtence; yet, were this complied with by the Supreme Diſpoſer of life and of death, nothing would contribute ſo effectually to conſummate the miſery of man. It was ſo with Mycerinus; for, upon being informed of the doom pronounced upon him by the oracle, he was ſo deeply affected with the intelligence, that he remonſtrated with the divinity; and recollecting that his father and uncle, who had been monſters of impiety towards all that was divine, and mercileſs to men, had been favoured with great

* Under this ſtory is moſt probably couched ſome circumſtances of the conſecrated bull or Apis. It is abſurd to ſuppoſe a king would receive the character of being virtuous, and yet be guilty of ſuch a groſs crime; and it is ſtill more abſurd, to imagine any man, but particularly a king, would perpetuate the infamy of ſuch depravity, by erecting ſtatues as remembrances of his own inceſt.

A

length of days, it did not ſeem conſiſtent, nor did it correſpond with the character of the deity, to requite his piety and humanity with the execution of ſo rigid a ſentence. To this it was anſwered, that the father and uncle knew the decree of fate which had condemned the Egyptians to 150 years of bondage and miſery, and acted conformably thereto; but that his ignorance of this, which had induced him to interrupt the courſe of their affliction, was the cauſe that he was ſo ſuddenly to be deprived of life. Finding, therefore, it is ſaid, that his doom was irreverſible, he conſulted how to make the moſt of the remnant of his life he was yet deſtined to enjoy.

For this purpoſe, he commanded a great number of lamps to be lighted up every night, and then gave himſelf up to riot and intemperance, revelling and feaſting. In this manner, he made no diſtinction between day and night, but roved about among the groves and meadows, and rendered that period of his life one continued round of feſtivity and gladneſs.

In this ſenſual manner did Mycerinus think to drown the pungency of reflection upon the certainty of his approaching death, for the purpoſe of convicting the oracle of falſehood, and, inſtead of ſix, to live twelve years.—It is ſtoried of him, that he alſo built a pyramid, which, from the baſis to the middle, was of Ethiopian ſtone, and inſcribed his name on the front which looks to the north. This is all which, with any degree of hiſtorical certainty, is recorded of this

prince, who commenced his reign, and for ſome time governed the people, with the ſentiments and conduct of a patriot king; but the latter part of his reign was tarniſhed by a tenor of deportment unworthy of that firmneſs and intrepidity which characteriſe the hero and the man.

It was related by the Greeks, that the beautiful pyramid above alluded to was erected by Rhodopis, the courtezan; but Herodotus ſeemed to think that the immenſe expence of ſuch a work could not poſſibly be defrayed by ſuch means.* From the accounts, likewiſe, related of that woman, it appears ſhe lived at a much later period than the reign of Mycerinus.

The reign of Aſychis is related by Herodotus, upon the information of the Egyptian prieſts, to have followed next; but, as Diodorus preſents a more ſyſtematic plan of ſucceſſion, which the former venerable hiſtorian ſeems little attentive to, we ſhall, therefore, therefore, according to the latter, proceed with the reign of

GNEPHACTUS.

Whether he immediately ſucceeded Mycerinus, or after an inter-regnum, is not aſcertained in hiſtory.

* Demetrius Poliorcetes compelled the Athenians to raiſe him immediately the ſum of 250 talents, which he ſent to his miſtreſs Lamia, ſaying it was for ſoap. When I inform the reader that ſhe ſpent this immenſe ſum in a feaſt given to her lord, what is here related of Rhodopis may ſeem leſs incredible. BELOE.

His public virtues and talents for government, or whether he poſſeſſed any, is not handed down to us. He was famed only for abſtinence, which is a kind of negative virtue indeed, and a leſſon to the voluptuous, but of little ſervice to mankind. It was he who pretended that Menes was the prince that laid aſide ſimplicity of living for a mode more opulent and luxurious. He, therefore, with the conſent of the prieſts, engraved a curſe upon the memory of that prince upon a pillar, and thus threw a ſhade upon the fair reputation and patriotic character of Menes through the following generations. He has the credit, however, of being the father of a ſon, who is juſtly eſteemed as a wiſe and prudent prince, whoſe name was

BOCCHORIS.

This prince, on account of his great capacity, prudence, and diſcernment, was ſurnamed THE WISE. His external figure was contemptible, and far from engaging; but, inſtead of a fair exterior, he poſſeſſed virtues more ſubſtantial, thoſe of prudence and wiſdom, and in which he far ſurpaſſed many of his predeceſſors. He was accounted the fourth legiſlator among the Egyptian princes. Poſſeſſed of diſcernment, he ſoon perceived that commerce was the richeſt ſource of wealth, and the beſt bond of union among his people. His regulations, of conſequence, principally reſpected that object, not only for its ſecurity,

but alſo its extenſion and improvement. The adminiſtration of the public revenue, and œconomy in its application, employed a large ſhare of the attention of this great prince. His admirable regulations in all the branches of police were venerated, and followed for ages after his death. Yet he is blamed for rather diſcovering a propenſity towards avarice, unworthy of a great ſovereign, who, when he reigns in the hearts of his people, has no need of hoards of treaſure. So high, ſays Plutarch, was the veneration which was paid him by his ſubjects, that they fabled Iſis to have ſent an aſp to prevent his ſight, that he might judge righteouſly. But Ælian, another hiſtorian, relates, that he drew a general odium upon himſelf, by letting in a wild bull to the ſacred one, Apis, or Mnevis, which, however, got the better of the aſſailant, and killed his antagoniſt in the conflict. Yet, with all his virtues, public and private, the ſanctity of his manners and amiable deportment, his end was tragical, and muſt be lamented. For, in a war with Sabacco, an Ethiopian prince, being overthrown in battle, he was taken priſoner, and the inhuman ruffian burned him alive! Such was the unhappy end of this moſt excellent ſovereign, and who deſerved a better fate.

It is ſuppoſed, by ſome hiſtorians, that a prince of the name of Aſychis reigned next to the laſt mentioned king; but the moſt prevalent opinion is, that they were one and the ſame perſon, under different names

a circumſtance which was ſaid to be very common in Egypt. Many kings, that were collateral, were placed by the prieſts in regular ſucceſſion; and this they did from national vanity, to ſwell their annals, and ſo ſtamp the Egyptian nation as the moſt ancient in the world.

SABACCO.

The victory which this Ethiopian prince obtained over Bocchoris, was followed up by entering Egypt with his troops, and totally ſubduing the whole kingdom. If he put the captive prince to a death ſo cruel, as has been related, we are not to wonder that he commenced his reign with ſavage barbarity. But what is ſingular, he no ſooner was firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne of Egypt, than he became an altered man, diſplaying the higheſt clemency, mercy, and conciliating policy towards all claſſes of his new ſubjects. Some hiſtorians of great credit think that he has been the So mentioned in ſcripture, and to have entered into a league with Hoſhea, king of Samaria, againſt Shalmanaſſer, king of Aſſyria. It is ſaid that he was excited to the invaſion of Egypt by a dream, which aſſured him that he ſhould hold that kingdom 50 years; and when that term was expired, hiſtory relates, that he actually reſigned the ſovereignty of that nation, and voluntarily returned again to Ethiopia, his paternal kingdom, leaving his conquered one to their own choice.

It is ſaid of him, that while he reigned in Egypt, he gave the higheſt proofs of his wiſdom and piety, and equalled the moſt celebrated of his predeceſſors in all the arts of governing; and what rendered it more difficult to him, was to govern a conquered people, and yet to retain their affections. His clemency was ſo great, that he never would conſent to the death of any criminal, though capitally condemned. He changed the puniſhment into hard labour, which principally conſiſted in raiſing mounds, and digging canals. By his conſtant attention to ſuch works, he raiſed the cities of Egypt higher, and rendered them more commodious, than even the great Seſoſtris himſelf, eſpecially the city Bubaſtis, which he paid particular attention to in fortifying and adorning.

Sabacco, we are told, had a ſecond viſion in a dream. The tutelar deity of Thebes admoniſhed him, that he could not retain the kingdom of Egypt any longer with ſafety and happineſs, except he ſhould maſſacre all the prieſts as he paſſed among them with his guards. The ſeeming impiety and tendency of this viſion ſtartled the prince, and withheld his belief of its reality. But the viſion was repeated ſeveral times; ſtill, however, his heart recoiled at the perpetration of the attrocious deed; and, therefore, he ſent for the prieſts themſelves, and declared to them the commands of the gods. However, he interpreted the terrible injunction into another ſenſe,

and it was ſubſtituted for an abandonment of the kingdom.*

It is remarked by ſome hiſtorians, that, as ſoon as Sabacco had retired from Egypt, Anyſis, who had

* The policy of conquerors and of tyrants ſeems to be ſimilar, under ſimilar circumſtances, in all ages. When Catharine the II. of Ruſſia, had put a period to her huſband's exiſtence, ſhe afterwards affected a ſhew of clemency, of juſtice, and of benevolence. This, like the conduct of Sabacco, was intended as a cover to the cruel means by which the empire was obtained. Circumſtances, however, occurred to both, which ſhewed that their diſpoſitions for bloodſhed were nearly the ſame as formerly. In the dream above alluded to, Sabacco, no doubt, made uſe of it as a pretext, to cover his bloody intention, and moſt probably would have put it in execution, if he could have done it with ſafety. Perhaps the prieſts diſapproved of his conduct, and his reign might be unpopular; and as that body of men were eſteemed as the legiſlators of the realm, it is evident an oppoſition from them would render him both uneaſy and unſafe. We ſee, therefore, no improbability in his having it in contemplation to butcher the whole race of prieſts; but as they were, perhaps, aware of the plot, they prevented the poſſibility of the tranſaction, by baniſhing Sethon himſelf from the kingdom. As a proof of Catherine's CLEMENCY, alſo, it may be obſerved, that, upon the attempt of Poland to eſcape from her tyrannic ſubjection, ſhe violated every claim to humanity and benevolence. Becauſe the inhabitants of Iſmael defended themſelves moſt valiantly againſt her uſurpation, ſhe exterminated them without diſcrimination and without mercy. She ſpared neither age nor ſex, but ſacrificed them all upon the altar of her ambition; and, afterwards, ſacrilegiouſly offered up public prayers to heaven, as a thankſgiving for the ſucceſs of her enterprize. A.

been baniſhed the kingdom by that invader, appeared from his place of concealment, where he had continued 50 years, that is, during the whole reign of that prince. This, however, bears ſo ſtrongly the air of fable, that there ſeems little credit attached to it.

The ſucceſſor of Sabacco, who next claims our notice, was

SETHON.

Like many of the kings of Egypt, he was of the ſacerdotal order, being prieſt of Vulcan. He utterly overlooked the military claſs, and even ſtripped them of their lands and other privileges. Reſenting this injurious uſage, they formed a combination, for the purpoſe of refuſing to lift arms in his cauſe and defence, if ever he ſhould require their aſſiſtance. Regardleſs of the murmuring and threats of the ſoldiers, he gave himſelf up wholly to a contemplative life, and to the functions of his office as a prieſt. But a terrible ſtorm ſeemed ready to burſt over his head. Sennacherib, king of Aſſyria, with a mighty and well-appointed army, approached Peluſium, intending to enter Egypt by that quarter. Sethon, ſeeing the danger with which he was threatened ſo near, and perceiving that his ſafety depended on the aid of that claſs of men whom he had ſo injuriouſly treated, was compelled to apply to them in this preſſing exigency; but they reſolutely refuſed to draw a ſword in his defence. Sethon, finding himſelf deſerted by the

army, and utterly deſtitute of all human help, repaired to his imaginary god, and fervently implored his aid. While he was yet in the temple, he fell into a deep ſleep, in which he imagined the god Vulcan ſtood at his ſide, and exhorted him to take courage; aſſuring him, if he would boldly meet the Aſſyrians in the field, that he ſhould obtain a complete victory. Emboldened by this animating and conſolatory viſion, he aſſembled together a promiſcuous body of labourers, artificers, and huſbandmen; and, putting himſelf at the head of this undiſciplined rabble, he marched to the frontiers. Herodotus informs us, that the very night after his arrival there, an infinite number of field rats entered the enemy's camp, and gnawed their quivers, bow ſtrings, and ſhield ſtraps to pieces. Next morning, when Sethon found the enemy ſo diſarmed and moving off, he purſued them, and made great ſlaughter.* In memory of this miraculous

* The Babyloniſh Talmud hath it, that this deſtruction upon the army of the Aſſyrians was executed by lightning, and ſome of the Targums are quoted for ſaying the ſame thing: but it ſeemeth moſt likely, that it was effected by bringing on them the hot wind, which is frequent in thoſe parts, and often, when it lights upon a multitude, deſtroys great numbers of them in a moment; as it frequently happens in thoſe vaſt caravans of the Mahometans who make their annual pilgrimages to Mecca; and the words of Iſaiah, which threatened Senacherib with a blaſt that God would ſend upon him, ſeem to denote this thing.

Herodotus gives us ſome account of this deliverance from the Aſſyrians, in a fabulous application of it to the city of Peluſium

event, there was a ſtone ſtatue of the king erected in the temple of Vulcan, with a rat in one of his hands, and expreſſing theſe words from his mouth; *Whoſo beholdeth me, let him be pious.*

THE REIGN OF THE 12 PRINCES.

Upon the death of Sethon, we cannot diſcover that he left any of his poſterity to ſucceed him in the government of Egypt. But whether it aroſe from a popular diſcontent with the regal form, which had hitherto been uniformly the mode of the Egyptian government, or it happened by a pre-concerted plot, laid by ſome of the chief men of that country, it would be improper to aſſert. Certain it is, however,

inſtead of Jeruſalem, and to Sethon the Egyptian inſtead of Hezekiah.

It is particularly to be remarked, that Herodotus calls the king of Aſſyria, Senacherib, as the ſcriptures do, and the time in both doth alſo well agree; which plainly ſhews, that it is the ſame fact that is referred to by Herodotus, although much diſguiſed in the relation; which may be eaſily accounted for, when we conſider that it comes to us through the hands of ſuch as had the greateſt averſion both to the nation and religion of the Jews, and therefore would relate nothing in ſuch a manner as would give reputation to either. PRIDEAUX's CONNECTION.

All modern chriſtian hiſtorians believe that this pretended miraculous interpoſition in favour of the Egyptians was only the real deliverance wrought in favour of Hezekiah, in the deſtruction of 183,000 of Sennacherib's army before Jeruſalem, and clothed in Grecian fable by Herodotus. B.

that an inter-regnum prevailed upon the demiſe of Sethon, during which Egypt was divided into 12 kingdoms, and were governed by 12 of the principal Egyptian lords. And, notwithſtanding that power is intoxicating, and, of conſequence, jealouſy and ambition ſoon diſcover themſelves; yet, what is rather uncommon, theſe 12 princes entered into the ſtricteſt aſſociation, to have no other aim in their joint government but the welfare of the public. This mutual engagement was ſanctioned in the ſtrongeſt poſſible manner, with the deſign of perpetuating this harmony and union during their reſpective reigns. It is true, they had been incited to theſe friendly diſpoſitions by a preternatural circumſtance upon their entering upon their government, for an oracle had pronounced, that any of their number who offered a libation in a brazen helmet, ſhould be raiſed to the ſole government of all Egypt.

Herodotus informs us, that, in order to perpetuate the memory of this ſingular harmony, which, for a conſiderable time, reigned among theſe princes, and to hand down their names to poſterity, they built the celebrated labyrinth near the lake Moeris. That this was the work of 12 kings, is uniformly aſſerted in Egyptian hiſtory; but whether of thoſe 12 who ſucceeded Sethon, is not ſo clearly ſubſtantiated. But their joint reign arrived near its termination; for, upon a ſolemn feſtival in honour of Vulcan, while they were performing a public ſacrifice to that god,

the high-prieſt, through miſtake, brought out only 11 inſtead of 12 gobles, in which they were to make their libations. Pſammeticus, happening to ſtand laſt in the order of the princes, finding himſelf either accidentally unprovided with a bowl, or intentionally overlooked, did not wait till he could be ſupplied with one from the ſacred treaſury by the prieſt, but bluntly took off his helmet from his head, which was of braſs, (as indeed the other eleven wore helmets of the ſame metal) from which, without ceremony, he offered his libation.*

After Pſammeticus had performed his part of the ceremony, and the princes had retired, the enunciation of the oracle was brought to their recollection. They were fully aware that he had inadvertently performed the libation in that extraordinary manner, but they were determined to prevent the poſſibility of his acquiring the dominion over Egypt, by baniſhing him to the moſt marſhy parts of Lower Egypt, which was then the moſt unproductive part of that country. This being leſs populous than the reſt of Egypt, the princes apprehended little, therefore, from his enterprize, in order to raiſe an army againſt them.

* It is certain that the ancients made uſe of their helmets on various occaſions: whenever any thing was to be decided by lots, the lots were caſt into a helmet; and as they appear very obvious for ſuch a purpoſe, ſo many inſtances in ancient writers occur of ſoldiers drinking out of them. BELOE.

But as the ſea-coaſts were in his poſſeſſion, he turned the attention of his ſubjects to maritime affairs. Being poſſeſſed of a bold, ſpeculative genius, he ſoon overcame their prejudices to that element, and, by cultivating commercial intercourſe with the Phœnicians, Greeks, and other trading nations, he not only enriched his ſubjects with wealth, but alſo acquired the favour and friendſhip of ſeveral foreign nations. This ſtroke of policy was not unobſerved by his colleagues, who, dreading that he might become too formidable, reſolved to remove the grounds of their apprehenſions, by reducing him to their ſubjection, or baniſhing him to another part of Egypt. To effect this, they all, at one time, declared war againſt him, intending thereby to annihilate his power at one blow. Unable, with his Egyptian ſubjects, to cope with ſo formidable a force, he had recourſe to foreign aid; and, hiring an army of Ionians, Carians, and Arabians, he united this powerful body with his own native troops, and gave battle to the allied princes. He was ſucceſsful, and, after routing them in the field, purſued his advantages with ſuch ſucceſs, that, in the end, he totally ſtripped them of their dominions, added them to his own, and became, thereby, ſole ſovereign of Egypt.

Herodotus gives us an account of the manner of the acceſſion of Pſammetichus to the throne of that country ſomewhat different. That hiſtorian relates,

that in conſequence of the oppoſition and envy of his colleagues, he retreated to the fenny parts of his diſtrict; but, actuated by reſentment for ſuch injurious uſage, he ſent to the oracle of Latona, in the city of Butos, to conſult how and when he might hope for redreſs. The anſwer he received was, that BRAZEN would ſuddenly riſe out of the ſea, and avenge his cauſe. Quite loſt at the ſeeming abſurdity of the reſponſe, he paid little attention to the oracle. But not long after, ſome Ionian and Carian pirates landed, in brazen armour; and an Egyptian, who had never ſeen men ſo armed before, went in haſte to inform Pſammeticus, that brazen men had emerged from the ſea, and were pillaging the coaſts; the prince, judging that this was the fulfilment of the anſwer of the oracle, went and courteouſly entreated them, by loading them with preſents, to join his intereſt in a war in which he was engaged. Complying with his terms, they joined his Egyptian troops, overthrew the confederated princes, and put him in full poſſeſſion of the whole kingdom. Thus ended the government of the twelve royal colleagues, after it had ſubſiſted 15 years.*

* It is remarkable that the events of the moſt conſequential nature have taken their ariſe from the moſt trifling circumſtances. Darius obtained the empire of Perſia by the neighing of his horſe; and Pſammeticus arrived at the throne of Egypt, by his accidently making an oblation in his helmet of braſs. B.

PSAMMETICUS.

From the acceſſion of this prince to the entire dominion of Egypt, the hiſtory of that celebrated country becomes leſs dubious and obſcure. Pſammeticus, now reigning uncontrouled by jealous rivals, equalled, in the adminiſtration of the affairs of that powerful kingdom, the moſt celebrated and renowned of his predeceſſors. His counſels were dictated by wiſdom, and executed with magnanimity and conſummate prudence. We put our readers in the recollection of his extraction, being the ſon of Necus, whom Sabacco, an Egyptian lord, upon his conquering Egypt, put to a cruel death; nor is it improbable, that, had he not fled from the ruthleſs barbarian into Syria, he would have ſhared the ſame fate. Being placed on the throne of Egypt, by the aſſiſtance of foreign troops, and forming alliances with their reſpective nations, he made good all his engagements as he had promiſed them, with the ſtricteſt honour and juſtice; over and above, he preſented them with donations of lands on both ſides of the Nile, and probably, from that being the ſcene of his ſucceſs againſt his rival aſſailants, he called theſe ſettlements *the camp*. Being greatly charmed with the Greek language, as well as entertaining a high opinion of the courage and military proweſs of that warlike nation, he placed ſeveral children under their tuition, in order that they might have their minds formed by their cuſtoms and

manners. He fixed their chief reſidence below the city Bubaſtis, near the ſea, by the Peluſian mouth of the Nile. Theſe Greeks are ſaid to be the firſt foreigners who were permitted to ſettle in Egypt, ſo jealous, like the Chineſe, were that people of any intimate intercourſe with ſtrangers, chiefly ſuch as were of an enterprizing and warlike turn. Yet it is owing to this conſtant correſpondence kept up between theſe new ſettlers and their countrymen in Greece, that the hiſtory of Egypt is handed down with more accuracy and preciſion, from the reign of Pſammeticus, than in any former period. National pride, and Egyptian prieſt-craft, ſo often involved the accounts of that people in fable and obſcurity, that rendered it a difficult and painful taſk for the hiſtorian, to diſtinguiſh genuine truth from impoſing, but diſguiſed falſehood.

He now being freed from any internal danger, turned his mind towards cultivating the arts of peace. Herodotus ſays, that he added the eaſtern portico to the temple of Vulcan. Diodorus remarks, that it was the weſtern portico that was added by that prince to Vulcan's temple. Herodotus adds, that he built a grand edifice oppoſite to this porch, for the reception of a new god, Apis, whenever he ſhould appear, and that it was beautifully adorned with ſculptures, and ſurrounded by gigantic ſtatues, 12 cubits high. Other hiſtorians differ little from Herodotus in this account, only ſaying, that he ſubſtituted coloſſal figures inſtead of pilaſters.

But this ſame wiſe and magnanimous prince adopted a plan of policy that had well nigh proved fatal to his power and government. We have ſeen that he particularly owed his elevation to the throne of Egypt to foreigners, and as he entertained a deep ſenſe of his obligation to them on that account, he conſtantly kept ſome of their countrymen in pay about his perſon, greatly admiring their fidelity and warlike experience. This poſſibly might have been overlooked; but, in an invaſion which he made upon Syria, and in which he was engaged for many years, (whether he could more confide in the courage and fidelity of his favourite troops) certain it is, that he gave theſe foreigners the principal poſts of honour.

Secret diſcontents, which the Egyptian forces entertained againſt the partiality with which Pſammeticus openly treated theſe ſtrangers, now broke out in loud murmurs, and ended in a general revolt. Two hundred thouſand of his Egyptian troops deſerted his ſtandard, and marched off in a body. Perceiving his fatal miſtake too late, he wiſhed to repair it; for this purpoſe, he ſent ſome of his moſt popular officers, who, by uſing ſoothing and kind expreſſions, and repreſenting the king's deep regret for the unintended injury he had done to their military character, and the ample manner in which he meant to atone for the fault, expected to recal them to their duty, and regain their confidence. But their endeavours had no kind of effect. Pſammeticus, finding that the media-

tion of his officers had no ſucceſs, reſolved perſonally to effectuate what he could not bring about by his friends: For this purpoſe, he took ſhipping, with ſome of his moſt confidential attendants, and overtook the inſurgents on the banks of the Nile. He there employed every argument to induce them to return, conjuring them by all the natural obligations which they owed their country and their God. But all in vain. The whole army ſtruck upon their ſhields with their ſpears, and reſolutely replied, that as long as they were faithful to themſelves, and had arms in their hands, they had no doubt in finding a country in which to ſettle. This firm reply was followed by a conduct equally determined, for they ſullenly marched on, and arrived at the confines of Ethiopia, where they made choice of a fertile track of country, upon which they made good a ſettlement. By this means they for ever renounced their wives, their children, and their country, and left them to be governed by a ſovereign who knew not how to diſtinguiſh and reward merit.*

* As it is the province of the hiſtorian to place thoſe tranſactions which he relates in the moſt important point of view, it is certainly not unworthy of his pen to obſerve the moſt ſtriking events which bear any analogy to the ſubjects that he is treating of. In this reſpect, we cannot ſilently paſs over the early occurrences of our own Iſland.—When our brave progenitors were ſucceſſively the prey of hoſtile invaſion and civil commotion, in an unfortunate moment they gave the command of their armies to

This loſs to a prince who had been a ſtranger to adverſity, and of a leſs intrepid ſpirit, would have been deciſive and irreparable; but Pſammeticus was determined to repair it, although forſaken by the flower of his army. For this purpoſe, he cultivated commerce with redoubled ardour; he opened his ports indiſcriminately to all ſtrangers, whom, contrary to the impolitic and jealous maxims of his predeceſſors, he kindly received and courteouſly careſſed. By this means his ſubjects were enriched, by having the fruits of their induſtry diſpoſed of to advantage; and elegance and poliſhed manners ſucceeded to a contracted and contemptuous deportment towards foreign nations. But he did not confine his political

Vortigern, the murderer of Conſtantine, and of ſeveral Roman deputies. Being a tyrant by education, he was poſſeſſed of no talents but that of ſubjugating the people. Upon the inroads of the Scots and Picts, he made their weakneſs the pretence of inviting a body of Saxons into England, which, inſtead of turning their arms againſt thoſe rude warriors, fought againſt the Britons, and ultimately made a ſettlement in England. They ſaw too late their own folly, in ſuffering Vortigern to invite theſe mercenary ſtrangers. Their own country was ſo populous and barren, and the fertile lands of Britain ſo agreeable and alluring, that, in a little time, this country was overrun by thouſands of hungry Saxons, with their wives and families. They ſought every occaſion to quarrel with the native Britons; and freſh hordes of theſe invaders daily pouring into England, they ſubjugated, in length of time, the moſt of our native countrymen, and the reſt fled for refuge to the hills of Wales and of Caledonia. A.

attention to the limits of his own nation; for, conſidering the Greek nations, notwithſtanding the late diſaſter his partiality towards them had occaſioned, as the moſt penetrating, enterprizing, and warlike of all others, he formed alliances with ſeveral of them, and principally with the Athenians.

Herodotus mentions a ſingular circumſtance of his reign, which does not ſeem to harmonize with the accounts which that hiſtorian has given us of his political wiſdom and ſagacity. Intending to penetrate into Syria, and probably hoping to make a conqueſt of that charming country, and finding the city Azotus to be the key to the entrance of it, he laid ſiege to it with his whole force, which reſolutely held out againſt the power of Egypt for the ſpace of 29 years. Hiſtory does not inform us whether, even after all that time, he made himſelf maſter of that ſtrong fortreſs or not.

The ancient Scythians, the predeceſſors of the modern Tartars, were a warlike nation, and often ſet at defiance the greateſt conquerors of the world. Probably hearing of the fertility of Egypt, or from ſome political reaſon which is not recorded, they were determined to pour their numerous, armed hordes of hardy barbarians into Egypt from Aſia, which they had lately conquered. Dreading the conſequences of ſuch an invaſion, this prudent prince thought it more adviſeable to form a friendly alliance with the Scythians, than to hazard probably his kingdom by the

event of a battle. Loading himſelf, therefore, with rich preſents, he won over their chiefs by a ſeaſonable application of them, ſo that they were perſuaded to return from his frontiers to their own country.—At the end of a reign of 54 years he died, and was buried, ſays Herodotus, in the temple of Bubaſtis, at Sais, where the remains of all the deceaſed princes of the Saitic dynaſty were depoſited. His reign was a tiſſue of various events, proſperous and adverſe. The ſame hiſtorian tells us, that he was the firſt king of Egypt who drank wine. He alſo employed able men to attempt to trace the ſource of the Nile.

This prince commenced his reign 1678 years after the deluge, and 679 before the chriſtian æra.

NECHUS.

Pſammeticus was ſucceeded on the throne, by a ſon not unworthy of ſo accompliſhed a father. His name was Nechus. Sacred writ calls him Pharoah Necho. Hiſtory repreſents him as a prince of a magnificent mind, particularly of a warlike turn, and renowned for his atchievments, both by ſea and land. Herodotus informs us, that he commenced his reign with an undertaking, which, had it ſucceeded, would not only have immortalized his own name, but would have proved of incalculable commercial advantage to his people. This was to join the Nile and the Red Sea, by means of a broad and deep canal. But whether it was owing, as they imagined, to the Red Sea

being more elevated than the Nile and the adjacent country, or to their ignorance of the expedient of locks, uſed with ſuch ſucceſs by modern engineers, in canals, that cauſed the failure in the laudable attempt, certain it is that the cataſtrophe was truly tragical. One hundred and twenty thouſand men are ſaid to have been overwhelmed by the waters, and otherways deſtroyed. This adventurous prince, in conſequence of the above calamity, was adviſed by an oracle to give up the further proſecution of the enterprize; and was alſo informed that the execution of this great undertaking was reſerved to a barbarian or foreigner to accompliſh, which actually happened. Thus warned, and otherwiſe diſheartened, by the diſaſter, he thought it prudent to deſiſt.

But this did not damp the ardor of his active and vigorous mind. He turned his thoughts towards naval affairs and enterprizes of a warlike kind. In imitation of his father, he overlooked the prejudices of his countrymen, which they entertained againſt the ſea, as they termed it Typhon, which ſwallowed up their beloved Nile.—The ocean being the moſt commodious path for conveying the commerce of all nations, he built a fleet of ſtout galleys on the northern, or the Mediterranean Sea, by which he might command the trade on its fertile coaſts; and another in the ſtraights of the Arabian gulph, of which naval operations, traces were ſeen many centuries after.

In thoſe ages the Phenician mariners excelled all

others of the world for expertneſs and enterprizes. This ſagacious prince, on that account, manned a fleet for diſcoveries, on the extenſive coaſts of Africa, with ſeamen of that nation. Sailing down the Red Sea, by the ſtraights of Babelmandel, they ſhaped their courſe along the eaſtern ſhore of the vaſt peninſula of Africa; and doubling the Cape of Good Hope, ſteered northward till they came to the ſtraights of Gibraltar, by which they entered the Mediterranean, and ſo returned into Egypt. Herodotus informs us, that this voyage was performed in three years; a courſe of ſailing which, ſince the invention of the compaſs, modern navigators could eaſily perform in as many months.*

* Since ſo many of theſe authorities concur in the belief that Africa had been ſailed round, we cannot eaſily gueſs why it ſhould be doubted at preſent; unleſs the moderns wiſh to appropriate to themſelves all the functions and powers of nautical diſcoveries. Few perſons, we preſume, are inclined to doubt that voyages were undertaken by the Phœnicians, to Britain, for tin;—by Hanno, to the weſtern coaſt of Africa, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing colonies, and to diſcover new lands;—by Syclax, from the Indus to the Red Sea, to explore the intermediate coaſts;—and by Nearchus, from the Indus to the Euphrates, for the ſame purpoſe. And to this liſt may well be added, the voyages made at a yet earlier date than any of the others, by the fleets of Solomon and of Hiram, to Ophir and other places, for gold, ivory, &c: Voyages, ſome of which, in point of duration, are ſaid to have equalled that of Necho.

RENNELS' Geography of Herodotus.

His operations by land were equally vigorous and ſucceſsful as his enterprizes by ſea. Joſephus ſays, that Nechus made war upon the Medes and Babylonians, who, by their joint efforts, had taken Nineveh, and overthrown the Aſſyrian empire, and ſo had become formidable to all nations. Sacred hiſtory, however, informs us expreſsly, that he went out againſt the king of Aſſyria, who had encamped on the banks of the Euphrates, poſſibly near Babylon. Joſiah, king of Judah, conſidering himſelf as bound by treaty to aid the king of that country, refuſed a paſſage to the Egyptian monarch through his territories; for which purpoſe he drew out a well-appointed army to prevent the deſign of Nechus laying ſiege to Carchemiſh.

Perceiving the force and deſign of Joſiah, he thought it the moſt prudent meaſure to remonſtrate with that prince, aſſuring him that his expedition was not intended to do him the ſmalleſt injury, and the war in which he was engaged was under the influence of a divine impulſe, having an expreſs command from God; and, therefore, begged the Judæan prince to reflect upon the danger which he run, in oppoſing him in his peaceable march through his coaſts. Whether, under the influence of infatuation, or conſidering himſelf bound by ſome obligation to the Babylonian king, he paid no regard to the remonſtrances of Nechus, upon which that monarch reſolved to give him battle. Both armies being

drawn up in the valley of Megiddo, or Magdolus, as Herodotus terms it, Joſiah was mortally wounded with an arrow, as he was driving his chariot along the ranks of his ſoldiers; but perceiving his wound to be mortal, and his end approaching, he ordered a retreat to be ſounded; and Nechus, intent only on his expedition, marched on with his army.

Arriving on the banks of the Euphrates, he made himſelf maſter of the great city of Carchemiſh, and having left there a ſtrong garriſon, at the end of three months he directed his march back towards Egypt. As he approached Jeruſalem, he was informed that Jehoahaz had aſſumed the royal dignity, without conſulting him, or obtaining his conſent. Commanding him, therefore, to repair to Riblah, in Syria, where he had his head quarters, he ſtripped Jehoahaz of his new dignity, bound him in chains, and ſent him priſoner to Egypt. After Nechus had arrived at Jeruſalem, he elevated Eliakim, whoſe name he changed into Jehoiakim, to the ſovereignty of Judea; but to remind him of his vaſſalage, he impoſed upon him a tribute of an hundred talents of ſilver, and a talent of gold. Thus Nechus became maſter of the countries of Syria and Judea. Herodotus, who relates the circumſtances of this expedition, ſays, that, among other conqueſts obtained by Nechus, he took the great and mountainous city of Cadytis, in Paleſtine, which is generally underſtood to be Jeruſalem, as there is no other city in Paleſtine

which correſponds to that deſcription. But, as he met with no reſiſtance, he entered that capital in a peaceable manner. Such was the uninterrupted and ſucceſsful career of Nechus, in his expeditions by ſea and land. He was particularly inſtrumental in weakening the power of the Aſſyrian monarchy, which was much on the decline; but with this terminated all his brilliant actions: For, a few years after, Nebuchadnezzar came from Babylon, and attacking Carchemiſh, carried that ſtrong city. Nechus was not intimidated by this ſevere blow, for, after collecting his numerous forces, he boldly marched towards the Euphrates, againſt Nebuchadnezzar. A bloody battle enſued, in which Nechus was routed with terrible ſlaughter, loſing, along with Carchemiſh, all Syria and Judea, quite to Peluſium. He made another feeble attempt to retrieve his affairs, by entering into a confederacy with Jehoiakim; but, dreading the conſequences, he confined his motions to Egypt, and made no progreſs beyond his own frontiers. Death terminated his actions and his reign in about eight years poſterior to this ſignal defeat by Nebuchadnezzar; and, after having reigned ſixteen years, he was ſucceeded in the throne of Egypt by his ſon

PSAMMIS.

This prince commenced his reign about the year 600, before the chriſtian æra. Hiſtory relates little

that ſignalizes his adminiſtration. He is ſaid to have decided, with ſome degree of diſcernment, an application made to him by the inhabitants of Elis, where the Olympic games were celebrated; but it ſcarcely merits a place in hiſtory. Pſammis reigned only the ſhort ſpace of ſix years. He had planned an expedition againſt the Ethiopians, but died before he put it in execution. He, too, was ſucceeded by a ſon, on the throne, whoſe name was

APRIES.

He was deſigned by different names; by ſome called Vaphres, others Eraphius, or Hophra. In ſacred writ he was named Pharaoh Hophra. The beginning of his reign was brilliant and ſucceſsful; proſperity rendered him haughty and inſolent, but its termination was inglorious, and his own end tragical.

Zedekiah, king of Judah, treading in the ſame paths of idolatry, and its concommitant impieties, with his predeceſſors, was threatened, on account of his revolt, with an invaſion by the king of Babylon. Unable, in his own reſources, to cope with this mighty force coming againſt him, and headed by the Chaldean king, in perſon, he applied to Apries, or Pharaoh Hophra, for aſſiſtance. That prince readily entered into his views, and formed an alliance with him, promiſing him effectual aid againſt the king of Babylon. In the mean time, Nebuchadnezzar entered

Judea with a numerous and well-appointed army, and closely besieged Jerusalem itself. Apries hearing of the motions of the king of Babylon, after some time, marched out of Egypt with his army, with the apparent design of relieving that capital. But Nebuchadnezzar no sooner heard of the march and designs of the Egyptian prince, than he raised the siege, and resolved to meet him. Whether Apries had been hearty and sincere in his professions to Zedekiah, or intimidated by the formidable appearance of the Chaldean army, certain it is, that the Egyptians dreaded the event of a battle, and retreated with equal speed, as the Babylonians advanced, till they arrived in their own country. By this treacherous and cowardly retreat, notwithstanding the most solemn engagements entered into by Apries, Zedekiah and the Jews were left to the rage of their merciless enemy, who continued the siege with redoubled vigour, till they made themselves masters of the city; whose inhabitants they treated with unheard of cruelties, and the houses, palaces, and the Temple, they levelled with the ground.

Sacred writ paints Apries in very disadvantageous colours, and threatens him, in the midst of his prosperity, with a violent and ignominious death. Yet ancient historians agree in giving him the character of a martial prince, waging war with great success, both by sea and land. He invaded Sidon, Tyre, and Cyprus, the first of which he took by storm; and,

having defeated the joint fleets of the Tyrians and Cypriots, in a ſea fight, he returned with immenſe ſpoil into Egypt. It was, probably, the fame of theſe ſhining actions which induced Zedekiah to revolt from the king of Babylon, and which proved his ruin and the overthrow of his kingdom. But theſe triumphs of Apries, it appears, were but of ſhort duration.

The philoſophical moraliſt obſerves, that the practice of either virtue or vice is generally attended with its own reward. In no inſtance was this axiom verified in more diſtinguiſhed characters, than in the fate of Apries. Poſſeſſed of a tyrannic and inſolent diſpoſition, he ſeemed to think that the Egyptians were more his ſlaves than his ſubjects; and when he gave his commands, they were delivered with all that imperious pride which belongs only to the moſt worthleſs of tyrants. Determined to preſerve that unbounded ſway over the people which he had aſſumed, he ſhewed a marked predilection to that part of his army which was compoſed of foreigners. The Carians and Ionians were employed neareſt his perſon, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed honours were the rewards of their mercenary ſervices. In foreign expeditions, the native troops were ſelected for the moſt dangerous operations, while the Grecian ſoldiers formed the empty parade of the prince and the conqueror.

Such were the characteriſtics of the diſpoſition of Apries, when a war broke out between the Cyreneans

and the Lybians. The former were a colony of the Grecians, and occupied that tract of country which corresponds now to the kingdom of Barca and Tripoli, and the latter inhabited that extenſive tract which is at this time called the deſarts of Lybia. Theſe inhabitants of Cyrene being reinforced by a powerful body of their countrymen, invaded the Lybian territory, under the command of *Battus the happy*, and threatened their total ſubjugation. It does not appear that theſe Greeks were actuated by any other motives than the adventurous rapacity of free-booters; though the Pythian oracle, it ſeems, had previouſly given them a favourable reſponſe.* Under the alarming apprehenſion, therefore, of being defeated by theſe powerful invaders, Andrican, the king of the Lybians, ſolicited the aid of Apries. Ever ready to promiſe aſſiſtance to his allies, the Egyptian king diſpatched an army of native troops to arreſt the progreſs of the Cyrenean invaſion. Either deficient in point of numbers, or, what is more probable, diſſatisfied with being ſent from their native country to fight the battles of ſtrangers in a foreign one, while merce-

* Our readers will obſerve what a great deference was paid by the ancients to the reſponſes of their oracles. Their ſuperſtition prompted them to conſider theſe anſwers as the voice of God himſelf, and their future conduct was generally regulated by the particular nature of the reply. By this means, the oracles were excellent engines in the hands of the prieſts; and their ambitious ſchemes upon other nations were atchieved better thereby, than the orders of the moſt imperious tyrants. A.

naries were employed at home, they experienced a defeat.

In this ſituation, and at a diſtance from their own country, their murmurs were loud, and they became impatient under the controul of their generals. Defeated in a foreign land, and attributing, in a great meaſure, the diſaſter to the improper conduct of Apries, they imagined themſelves marked out for deſtruction, in order to ſecure the ſlavery of their countrymen at home. Under the impreſſion of that idea, they mutinied and revolted from his authority, and, inſtead of repairing the loſs of the preceding defeat, prepared to march homewards to revenge their own injuries.

The news of the check which the Egyptians had experienced from the Cyreneans had no ſooner reached the Egyptian court, than the additional intelligence of this revolt had occaſioned an unuſual ferment throughout the country. The alarmed Apries diſpatched a meſſenger ſpeedily to the revolters; but it appears the plans of theſe malcontents had been previouſly concerted. Amaſis, who was the officer employed on this occaſion, inſtead of appeaſing the alarms of the giddy multitude, by redreſſing the object of their grievances and complaints, rather fanned the flame of inſurrection. He not only inſidiouſly provoked their reſentment againſt the king he was delegated to ſerve, but laid the plan of his ruin, for the purpoſe of aſſuming the throne himſelf. During the

time he was thus parleying with the people, a helmet was placed upon his head as the diſtinction of royalty, and he was immediately after ſaluted as king. To this honour it would ſeem Amaſis had been previouſly aſpiring, for, upon the ſimple tranſaction of being crowned with the helmet, he addreſſed them as his fellow-ſoldiers in affliction, and, by throwing off the maſk of affection to Apries, he encouraged them to perſiſt in their rebellion.

Affairs having aſſumed this ſerious complexion, Apries, fired with rage at the conduct of this hollow friend, diſpatched his moſt eſteemed miniſter, Patarbemis, to arreſt the treacherous Amaſis. As he arrived upon the frontiers of Egypt, he met the troops in inſurrection, under the command of Amaſis. When he approached him, he delivered peremptorily his ſummons, which was replied to in ſhort, but inſolent terms. Partarbemis both reproached him for his conduct, and endeavoured to perſuade him to ſubmiſſion; but all his exertions were unavailing. He therefore ſpeedily returned to his ſovereign, for the purpoſe of reporting the hoſtile preparations which the ſoldiers in inſurrection, commanded by Amaſis, were taking, and that they were marching by rapid ſtrides to the capital. However, before he had delivered his meſſage to the monarch, when the diſappointed Apries ſaw his miniſter returning without the object of his journey, he cruelly ordered his favourite to be ſeized, and his noſe and ears to be immediately cut off. Such an act of barbarity created an univer-

ſal abhorrence throughout the kingdom; and his former character being freſh in their recollection, the moderate party in Egypt, incenſed at this unprovoked inſult to humanity, ſoon joined the diſaffected under Amaſis.

In this perilous ſituation of the affairs of Apries, he had now recourſe only to the mercenaries which were employed in his ſervice. He therefore marched againſt the Egyptians in inſurrection, with a body of Ionian and Carian auxiliaries, which in all amounted to 30,000 men. The body of men who were under Amaſis were nearly ſix times that number; but they were inferior in diſcipline, and not ſo well inured to arms. However, the body of the people being almoſt unanimous for the expulſion of Apries, theſe Grecian ſoldiers were ultimately ſubdued. Conquered, and a priſoner, Apries was now a captive under Amaſis, in the palace at Sais, where he had lately revelled with ſuch unconcern. He was treated for ſome time with all the lenity due to a fallen ſovereign; but the Egyptians being eager for his deſtruction, and Amaſis being reproached for his clemency towards a tyrant from whom they had received ſuch injuries, was compelled to deliver up the king to public juſtice. During this frenzy of the public rage, Apries fell a victim to popular fury, and was ſtrangled in a ſummary manner by the mob.*

* It is to this prince, whom, as I before mentioned, the ſcrip-

With the tyrannic reign of Apries, a period was likewiſe put to the civil commotions, to which that country had been long expoſed. Diſtracted by the diſcords of foreigners, which Apries kept perpetually in his ſervice, the Egyptian ſoldiers were deſpiſed, and treated with opprobrium and ignominy. The profeſſion of arms had been hitherto viewed in Egypt as an honourable employment, but the diſtinction which he paid to ſtrangers diminiſhed greatly that reſpect.* They, however, recovered their wonted conſequence in raiſing Amaſis to the throne.

tures denote by the name of Pharaoh Hophra, that the following paſſages are ſaid (by Prideaux) to allude:

"The land of Egypt ſhall be deſolate and waſte, and they ſhall know that I am the Lord: Becauſe he hath ſaid, The river is mine, and I have made made it.—Behold, therefore, I am againſt thee, and againſt thy rivers, and I will make the land of Egypt utterly waſte and deſolate."—Ezek. xxix. 9, 10.

"Thus ſaith the Lord, I will give Pharaoh Hophra, king of Egypt, into the hand of his enemies, and into the hands of them that ſeek his life."—See Jeremiah, &c. BELOE.

* With the following remark of M. Larcher, the heart of every Engliſhman muſt be in uniſon. To hear a native of France avow an abhorrence of deſpotiſm, and a warm attachment to liberty, has, till within a late period, been a moſt unuſual circumſtance. On the ſubject of ſtanding armies, nothing, perhaps, has been written with greater energy and effect than by Mr Moyle.

"Every country," ſays M. Larcher, "which encourages a ſtanding army of foreigners, and where the profeſſion of arms is

About this period, ſometime during the reign of Apries, when the country was convulſed by theſe

the road to the higheſt honours, is either enſlaved, or on the point of being ſo. Foreign ſoldiers in arms, are never ſo much the defenders of the citizens, as the attendants of the deſpot. Patriotiſm, that paſſion of elevated ſouls, which prompts us to noble actions, weakens and expires. The intereſt which forms an union betwixt the prince and his ſubjects, ceaſes to be the ſame, and the real defence of the ſtate can no longer be vigorous. Of this Egypt is a proof: its deſpots, not ſatisfied with the national troops, always ready for ſervice, had recourſe to foreign mercenaries. They were depreſſed, and paſſed with little difficulty under the dominion of the Perſians, afterwards under that of Greece and of Rome, of the Mamelukes, and the Turks. The tyrant could not be loved by his ſlaves, and without the love of his ſubjects, the prince totters on his throne, and is ready to fall when he thinks his ſituation the moſt ſecure."

Amongſt men," ſays Æſchines, "there are three ſorts of, governments, monarchic, oligarchic, and republican. Monarchies and oligarchies are governed by the caprice of thoſe who have the management of affairs, republics by eſtabliſhed laws. Know then, Oh Athenians! that a free people preſerve their liberty and lives by the laws, monarchies and oligarchies by tyranny and a ſtanding army."

To the above I cannot reſiſt the inclination I have to add (from Mr Moyle) the underwritten.

"The Iſraelites, Athenians, Corinthians, Achaians, Lacedæmonians, Thebans, Samnites, and Romans, none of them, when they kept their liberty, were ever known to maintain any ſoldier in conſtant pay within their cities, or ever ſuffered any of their ſubjects to make war their profeſſion, well knowing that the ſword and ſovereignty always march hand in hand."

inteſtine commotions, it is related, that Nebuchadnezzar, with his army, made an irruption into Egypt. That prince having been employed about 13 years in the ſiege of Tyre before he ſucceeded in reducing it, and not meeting with the booty which he was led to expect, directed his army into Egypt in hopes of repairing this miſapplication of time, and deficiency of plunder. That opulent kingdom was poſſeſſed of no energy, at that time, to repel thoſe victorious troops; the Babylonians, therefore, met with little oppoſition in their rapacious career. The deſtruction which this furious conqueror made in Egypt is ſaid to have been ſo great, that they did not recover from the ſhock for the ſpace of 40 years. When this event took place there is no account, but it is probable that it immediately followed the deſtructive invaſion of Paleſtine and Syria, when the Jews and the Tyrians were carried into captivity. This invaſion of Egypt might, no doubt, be prompted by the proſpect of an eaſy acquiſition of riches; but it may be recollected, that, upon Nebuchadnezzar entering Judea to beſiege Jeruſalem, Apries marched from Egypt to oppoſe his progreſs; the ſtrength of the Babylonian army deterred him from giving them battle; but there is little probability that that prince would paſs over ſuch an intentional hoſtility without returning the Egyptian king a ſimilar favour, when his armies had ſecured the intermediate countries.

As a prominent feature in the character of Apries,

it is related of him, that he was ſo inſufferably vain, that he declared neither the power of Heaven nor earth could diveſt him of his kingdom. His melancholy death, however, proved, in a ſingular manner, the abſurdity of the boaſt. His reign is ſaid to have occupied a ſpace of about 15 years; but the more general opinion is, that 35 years was the period.

AMASIS II.

The ſingular manner of this man's aſcenſion to the throne was equalled only by the ſingularity of his whole reign. Having to boaſt of no diſtinguiſhed origin, he endeavoured to ſupply the defect of his genealogy by the practice of uſeful virtues and the exerciſe of his abilities.

After having aſſumed the diadem, he perceived that the people paid him a conſtrained reſpect, and rather viewed him as their equal, than as the firſt magiſtrate of the realm. To remove this falſe diſtinction of paying honour only to fortune and birth, he adopted a curious ſtratagem, which was no leſs replete with political wiſdom, than excellently adapted to convey the keeneſt leſſon of reproof. It was the general practice, in ancient times, to perform ablution before eating; therefore, the golden ciſtern which ſtood in the palace, and was appropriated for that purpoſe, and in which, Herodotus ſays, the gueſts of Amaſis were accuſtomed to ſpit, make water, and waſh their feet, was converted into a

ſtatue of their favourite deity. This ſtatue he erected in a conſpicuous ſituation; before which, the people, as they paſſed, paid divine honours. On ſome occaſion, when there was a full aſſembly of the people, he took an opportunity of drawing an analogy betwixt himſelf and the deity which they adored. He confeſſed that he was of plebean origin,* but that their approbation had raiſed him to the diſtinguiſhed office of their ſovereign: So it was with that god which they venerated. It had formerly been employed for the meaneſt purpoſes of life, and in which many of them had even waſhed; but was now converted into an object worthy that adoration which they beſtowed. From this circumſtance did he afterwards receive that veneration and reſpect to which his high ſtation entitled him.

The general tenor of this prince's life was not only to render himſelf happy, but to extend this beneficent ſentiment to all his ſubjects. His deportment was affable and condeſcending; but the principal ſpeck in

* It is related by Athenæus, that the ſovereign who preceded Amaſis was Partamis, but this name ſo much reſembles Patarbemis, that the miniſter has been, moſt probably confounded with the king. The riſe of his fortune was ſaid to be owing to his having preſented the king, on his birth day, with a beautiful chaplet of flowers. The prince was ſo pleaſed with the attention of the comely youth, that he invited him to his birth-day feſtival, and received him afterwards among the number of his friends. A.

his character was in descending from the royal dignity of the throne to join in vulgar amusements, and indulging too freely in festivity and mirth. In the morning, he was occupied with business, and giving audience to whoever required it, till the public square of the city was filled with people. The afternoon was devoted to his own pleasures and amusements, and in unbending himself with his friends.

Such are the general outlines of the character of Amasis; but, with respect to which, it may be observed, that his disposition for festivity did not accord with the sage maxims of the elders among the people. Upon one of his festive occasions, he received the following remonstrance in the midst of his indulgencies: "Sir," said they, "you dishonour your rank by these excessive and unbecoming levities. You ought rather to descend from your throne to employ yourself in the administration of public affairs, to increase the dignity of your name and the veneration of your subjects, than give occasion for the contempt of the wise, and the scandal of your enemies. Your present life is altogether unworthy the dignity of a king." The memorable reply which he made, however, to these remarks, formed a plausible apology for any impropriety in his conduct which they meant to check. "They who make use of the bow," said Amasis, "bend it only when they have occasion; and when not in use, they relax it, in order to preserve its tension, and render it of future service, when at any

exigence it is required. With man it is preciſely the ſame; if, without ſome intervals of amuſement, he conſtantly applied himſelf to ſerious purſuits, he would imperceptibly loſe the vigour both of his body and his mind. The conviction of this truth, therefore, influences me in the diviſion of my time."*

The genius of this prince was ſuch, that, for the improvements which he introduced into Egypt, and the ſtupendous works he erected, his memory was long eſteemed and juſtly venerated. Under his reign, the Egyptians could boaſt of 20,000 populous cities, and more numerous aqueducts and canals than had ever exiſted prior to or after that event. The productions of the country were truly luxurious and plentiful, and the wealth which they acquired was great beyond compariſon. To promote the ſucceſs

* Of this Amaſis it is aſſerted, that, whilſt he was in a private condition, he avoided every ſerious avocation, and gave himſelf entirely up to drinking and jollity. If at any time he wanted money for his extravagant pleaſures, he had recourſe to robbery. By thoſe who ſuſpected him as the author of their loſs, he was frequently, on his proteſting himſelf innocent, carried before the oracle, by which he was frequently condemned, and as often acquitted. As ſoon as he obtained the ſupreme authority, ſuch deities as had pronounced him innocent, he treated with the greateſt contumely, neglecting their temples, and never offering them either preſents or ſacrifices; this he did by way of teſtifying his diſlike of their falſe declarations. Such, however, as decided on his guilt, in teſtimony of their truth and juſtice, he reverenced as true gods, with every mark of honour and eſteem. HERODOTUS.

and safety of commerce, and to preserve social order in his dominions, he instituted that excellent law of obliging every inhabitant to explain to the magistrate his mode of livelihood.*

* It is an English adage, that one thief is best calculated to catch another; so it may be said of Amasis, if his former character is fairly represented by Herodotus. He being well acquainted with the depredations which were committed upon the public, from his own experience, this law evinces his knowledge of mankind, that the best way to remove an evil, is to prevent the means or the opportunity of committing crimes.—The law of Alfred, the patriot king of England, was established upon a principle similar in its nature and consequences. "The wars," says Rapin, "had caused such disorders and licentiousness in the kingdom, that vagabonds and vagrants every where abounded, who committed all manner of crimes with impunity, their poor and mean condition screening them from justice. As they had no settled abode, upon committing any offence, they shifted their quarters, and went where it was difficult to discover them. After beholding with indignation honest men thus exposed to the insult of villains, he was extremely desirous to put a stop to so great a mischief. Having consulted those whom he judged capable of giving him good advice, he took the following method to prevent any person from living in his dominions, without being obliged to give an account of his actions. He divided all England into shires or counties, the counties into hundreds, and the hundreds into tythings. This being done, all the inhabitants of the kingdom were obliged to belong to some tything; whoever did not, were looked upon as vagabonds, and as such denied the protection of the law. Every householder was to answer for his wife, his children under fifteen years of age, and his domestics. If any one by his way of living fell under suspicion, he was obliged to give security for his good behaviour. In

His public works likewiſe diſplayed a taſte and magnificence worthy of the greateſt monarch. He built a ſuperb portico before the temple of Minerva at Sais, which excelled any building then in exiſtence. The ſtones of which it was compoſed were large and maſſy; it was adorned with huge coloſſuſes, and lined with rows of ſphynxes. It was under his direction that the immenſe temple, cut out of one ſtone, was hewn and removed from the quarry at Elephantine, which employed 2,000 men, for the ſpace of three years, in its tranſportation. The public works at Memphis were indebted to his munificence for many beautiful ſtatues, obeliſks, &c. with which they were embelliſhed. One coloſſus in particular he erected before the temple of Vulcan, which was 75 cubits in length, was placed in a recumbent poſture, and was one entire ſtone.* But what excelled his other works, was, in building and finiſhing

caſe he could find none, the tything threw him into priſon, to prevent their being liable to the penalty he ſhould incur by any offence. Thus the houſeholders being reſponſible for their families, the tything for the houſeholders, the hundreds for the tythings, and the counties for the hundreds, every one was watchful over his neighbour's actions. If a ſtranger guilty of any crime made his eſcape, information was taken of the houſe where he lodged, and if he had been there three days, the maſter of the family was condemned to pay his fine." A.

* Herodotus, alſo, relates, there were two other ſtatues adjoining to the above, 20 feet high, that ſtood upon the ſame pediment, and were all three cut from one ſtone. A.

the temple of Iſis at Memphis, eſteemed the moſt elegant and ſuperb edifice then in the world.

By this time Greece became famous among the nations, not only on account of the purity of its language, but its celebrity for arms, and the ſtill more uſeful arts, ſciences, and manufactures of that country. During this reign, Egypt was honoured by a viſit of the celebrated legiſlator, Solon. Amaſis received his illuſtrious viſitant with every mark of reſpect juſtly due to his high merit and reputation. The archives and records of that ancient nation were brought forth to his view. The manners, cuſtoms, and laws of the country were laid before him; and which that ſagacious Greek improved, in forming his ſyſtem of Jurisprudence for the government of Athens. To Egypt was he principally indebted for many of thoſe inſtitutes, which excites the admiration of mankind at the preſent period. Several of the cities of Greece he endowed with diſtinguiſhed privileges, and many individuals he loaded with riches and honours. To the whole nation he gave free permiſſion to trade, as well as to ſettle, in Egypt. This liberal and wiſe regulation brought many uſeful and enterprizing Greeks into that country. They ſettled either at Naucratis, a celebrated mart for trade in thoſe times, or along the ſhores of the Nile, and on the Red Sea. He granted alſo a full toleration to exerciſe their religion unmoleſted, permitting them to uſe their rites and ceremonies, notwithſtanding

the ſuperſtition of the Egyptians. This liberty, ſo worthy of an enlarged mind, the Greeks improved, and built ſeveral beautiful temples in honour of the deities of their own nation, They wiſely choſe able and experienced men to ſuperintend their religious and civil affairs, and ſo formed a very conſiderable part of the community of that country.

To other ſhining talents, Amaſis poſſeſſed a generoſity and greatneſs of ſoul, which diffuſed its benign influence, among not only the natives of Egypt, but to ſtrangers, who made application to him, when labouring under any particular national preſſure.

When the Delphians, Herodotus informs us, had the misfortune of having their temple burnt, which, on account of its celebrated oracle, brought much wealth to Delphos, and were going about from city to city ſoliciting contributions, upon application to Amaſis, he preſented them with a thouſand talents of alum, worth a great ſum of money. He extended his generoſity to almoſt all the principal cities of Greece, to ſome he ſent money, to others ſtatues, and various rare and valuable preſents. The ſame hiſtorian tells us, that Amaſis was the firſt who ſubdued Cyprus, and made the Cypriots tributaries.

Hitherto the ſunſhine of proſperity ſeems to have gilded the reign of this fortunate prince; but hiſtory informs us, that it was not altogether unclouded, by frequent reverſes of fortune. The terrible and deſolating invaſion of Egypt, by Nebuchadnezzar, happened almoſt immediately preceeding the long reign of

Amasis, and we are likewise informed that the latter part of the days of this prince was threatened by a similar storm; and although death prevented him from feeling its destructive effects, yet the indignities offered to his lifeless body, indicated what kind of treatment he would have experienced, had he been alive.

This storm of fortune had, for some time, been gathering in the horizon, but all the wisdom wchih Amasis was possessed of, could not avert the approach of the calamity. Egypt was brought to the utmost pinnacle of prosperity by the laws and the regulations of this prince, and in his commercial transactions with other nations he was respected, and his friendship was courted. In this intercourse with foreign countries, the prosperity of his reign, and the happiness of the people became subject for envy; and it is not improbable that these circumstances cooperated more powerfully to inspire the detestable hatred of tyrants, than any other cause. When kings are determined for war, they are not long puzzled for a motive, and when either avarice or ambition wishes to be gratified, any pretence is sufficient. The reasons alleged by different authors for the invasion of Egypt are, in general, so absurd and contradictory, that we premise these observations as the most probable that we can assign. However, we shall succinctly view the different accounts of this important era of ancient history, as related by writers of antiquity.

The intercourſe between Perſia and Egypt which had been firſt eſtabliſhed by Seſoſtris had continued, with ſome occaſional interruptions, till the period of this prince's reign. That communication was cemented by a reciprocity of intereſts. But the enterprize of Amaſis had extended this commercial correſpondence to an unuſual extent, the balance of which preponderated much in favour of Egypt. In theſe communications with the two countries, a degree of friendſhip ſubſiſted betwixt them, which was undoubtedly their mutual happineſs and advantage. In theſe tranſactions, therefore, it is related, that Cambyſes, king of Perſia, had been injured by the Egyptian king.

Cambyſes being afflicted with a diſorder in his eyes, requeſted an occuliſt from Amaſis, that was eminent in his profeſſion, for the purpoſe of curing him. In compliance with this deſire, a phyſician was diſpatched to Perſia for that purpoſe; but whether the occuliſt was chagrined for being forced from his family to become an exile, or he was ſoliciting for favour at the expence of his Egyptian maſter, he adviſed the monarch to ſolicit the daughter of Amaſis. By inſtigating Cambyſes to apply for this princeſs, it ſeems he expected to have either occaſioned a rupture between the two monarchs, or revenge himſelf on Amaſis, by his regretting the loſs of his daughter. Such an inſidious plan produced the effect intended; for Amaſis, who, though unwilling to accept, and

yet fearful of rejecting the overture, adopted a plan of conduct which was productive of the miſchief he endeavoured to avoid. Knowing that his daughter would not be made the wife, but the concubine, of the Perſian monarch, he ſent the beautiful Nitetis, the daughter of Apries, in her ſtead, and wiſhed her, nevertheleſs, to be underſtood as Cambyſes had requeſted. But when ſhe arrived in the capital of Perſia ſhe undeceived the monarch, and recollecting that Amaſis had uſurped the throne of her father, ſhe prompted him to eſpouſe her cauſe.

This being ſtated as the origin of the quarrel between Amaſis and Cambyſes, by the Perſians, Herodotus rather views the relation in a dubious light. Nitetis being, at that time, advanced in years, ſhe was but ill qualified to become the paramour of this young Perſian. That hiſtorian, however, relates, upon the credit of the Egyptian records, that Nitetis, the daughter of Apries, was, in reality, the concubine of Cyrus, and that Cambyſes was the offspring of this connection.* Polyænus ſo far corroborates

* This, however, is certainly not true. The Egyptians are, of all mankind, beſt converſant with the Perſian manners, and they muſt have known that a natural child could never ſucceed to the throne of Perſia, whilſt a legitimate one was alive. And it was equally certain that Cambyſes was not born of an Egyptian woman, but was the ſon of Caſſandane, the daughter of Pharnaſpe, of the race of Achemenides. This ſtory was, therefore, invented by the Egyptians, that they might, from this pretence, claim a connection with the houſe of Cyrus. HERODOTUS.

this ſtatement, that he aſſerts Nitetis was, in reality, the daughter of Apries, and that ſhe cohabited with Cyrus for a conſiderable time, under the deſignation of the daughter of Amaſis. After ſhe had ſeveral children by Cyrus, and after the death of Amaſis, ſhe diſcloſed who ſhe really was, with the view of regaining her father's kingdom. Cyrus, indeed, it is ſaid, acceeded to her wiſhes, but died during his preparation for an Egyptian war. However, Cambyſes was perſuaded by his mother to undertake the expedition, to revenge the cauſe of the family of Apries.*

* In Beloe's notes to Herodotus he takes occaſion to obſerve what miſchiefs the plotting genius of women have occaſioned. M. Larcher, ſays he, enumerates, from Athenæus, the various and deſtructive wars which had originated on account of women; he adds, what a number of illuſtrious families had, from a ſimilar cauſe, been utterly extinguiſhed. The impreſſion of this idea, added to the vexations which he had himſelf experienced in domeſtic life, probably extorted from our great poet, Milton, the following energetic lines:—

——— Oh, why did God,
Creator wiſe, that peopled higheſt heaven
With ſpirits maſculine, create at laſt
This novelty on earth, this fair defect
Of nature, and not fill the world at once
With men as angels, without feminine,
Or find ſome other way to generate
Mankind! This miſchief had not then befall'n,
And more that ſhall befall, innumerable
Diſturbances on earth through female ſnares. A.

Other reaſons are ſtated with equal plauſibility with different authors, each of which are entitled to a ſimilar degree of credit. But whatever reaſons co-operated to determine Cambyſes to invade Egypt, his ambition was powerfully prompted to the undertaking by the defection of Phanes, of Halicarnaſſus, commander of the Greek auxiliaries, in the ſervice of Amaſis. This circumſtance tended more to the injury of the Egyptians, and the political ſervice of Cambyſes, than any other event which could have occurred. He was a ſoldier of an accompliſhed mind, and was conſidered as one of the moſt worthy friends of the ſovereign. He was valiant, prudent, moſt intimately acquainted with the affairs of Egypt, and what conſtituted its trueſt intereſts. He poſſeſſed withal, the confidence of the Grecians in that country, and was, therefore, conſidered as a valuable friend, but a dangerous enemy.

Amaſis, who was ſenſible of the injury this man was capable of performing, was no ſooner informed of his retreat from court, than he felt himſelf betrayed. There is no doubt but he was aware of the preparations that were going forward in Perſia, and which he rightly conjectured were intended to be directed againſt Egypt. He preſumed that this conduct of Phanes was in conſequence of ſome pre-concerted meaſures betwixt him and Cambyſes, and he conſequently diſpatched a eunuch, who had always acted like a truſty ſervant, in a three-banked galley, to

purſue him. This purſuit, though ſucceſsful, the crafty Grecian adopted means of eſcaping, by intoxicating the guards. After he arrived in Perſia, he communicated the moſt effectual plans to reduce that country to his power. He repreſented the means of marching through the deſarts, of attacking Egypt in the moſt vulnerable parts, and of obviating all the difficulties to which they might be expoſed.

At this period of the reign of Amaſis, a defection likewiſe aroſe from another quarter. Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, had been his intimate friend and ally, and, in conſequence of the uninterrupted proſperity which that prince experienced, he wrote an epiſtle, which appears not only to have given him umbrage, but to have determined him to join his arms againſt Amaſis with thoſe of Cambyſes. The purport of that letter abounds with ſo much good ſenſe, (mixed, indeed, with ſome fantaſtical ideas) that, as it relates to the hiſtorical narrative, it ſeems to merit a place in hiſtory. "The ſucceſs of a friend and ally," ſays he, "fills me with particular ſatisfaction; but as I know the invidiouſneſs of fortune, your extraordinary proſperity excites my apprehenſions. If I might determine for myſelf, and for thoſe whom I regard, I would rather have my affairs ſometimes flattering, and ſometimes perverſe. I would wiſh to paſs through life with the ſame alternate experience of good and evil, rather than with uninterrupted good fortune. I do not remember to have heard of

any man, remarkable for a conſtant ſucceſſion of proſperous events, whoſe end has not been finally calamitous. If, therefore, you value my counſel, you will provide the following remedy againſt the exceſs of your proſperity: 'Examine well in what you deem of the higheſt conſequence to your happineſs, and the loſs of which would give you moſt regret. When you ſhall have aſcertained this object, baniſh it from you, that there may be no poſſibility of its return. If, after this, your good fortune ſhould ſtill continue, without diminution or change, the repetition of the experiment will, no doubt, apply the remedy I propoſe."*

* Upon the ſubject of fortune, the following lines, by Dryden, will be welcome to the Engliſh reader —

Fortune, that with malicious joy
Does man, her ſlave, oppreſs;
Proud of her office to deſtroy,
Is ſeldom pleas'd to bleſs:
Still various, and inconſtant ſtill,
But with an inclination to be ill,
Promotes, degrades, delights in ſtrife,
And makes a lottery of life.
I can enjoy her when ſhe's kind,
But when ſhe dances in the wind,
And ſhakes the wings, and will not ſtay,
I puff the proſtitute away:
The little or the much ſhe gave is quietly reſign'd.
Content with poverty, my ſoul I arm,
And virtue, tho' in rags, will keep me warm.

A

Herodotus deſcribes the ſubſequent conduct of Polycrates as complying with this requeſt, that he threw a valuable emerald ring into the ſea, and that, after a few days had elapſed, it was again found in a fiſh's ſtomach. When the Grecian prince had informed Amaſis of the reſult of his experiment, and that fortune was ſtill his friend, the Egyptian monarch, it is related, ſent a herald to Samos, to diſclaim all future connection with him, under the apprehenſion that he would be involved in ſome future calamity which would befall him.

Mr Beloe, in remarking on the nature of this tranſaction, obſerves, that this conduct of Amaſis may be adduced, as one amongſt numerous other inſtances, to prove, that where the human mind has no ſolid hopes of the future, nor any firm baſis of religious faith, the determinations of man will be wayward and irregular; and although there may exiſt great qualities capable of performing ſplendid actions, there will alſo be extraordinary weakneſſes, irreconcileable to common ſenſe or common humanity. With the more probable concluſions of a rational mind, however, Diodorus relates, that the behaviour of Amaſis was directed by a very different motive. The tyrannical diſpoſition of Polycrates, who conquered without diſcrimination, and who cruelly oppreſſed the friend and the foe without diſtinction, was a dangerous friend to a king who delighted in peace. His ſucceſs in thoſe military operations which were

directed from ſuch abſurd motives, and carried on with ſuch violence, would naturally alarm him; it is more natural, therefore, to adopt the opinion of the latter hiſtorian, that Amaſis was diſguſted with the tyranny of Polycrates; and that he diſſolved an alliance with this perfidious prince, in order to avoid the danger of being involved in the calamities which he inflicted on others.

In conſequence of the diſſolution of the alliance between Polycrates and the king of Egypt, the former was left at liberty to act as intereſt or inclination might direct him. He was not, however, long in uncertainty, for he proffered his ſervices to Cambyſes with a powerful ſquadron of well-appointed ſhips of war. Theſe offers were too important to be ſlightly treated, or indifferently neglected; therefore, the Perſian invader accepted his propoſals, and the tyrant, of Samos with his fleets, was deſtined to act hoſtilely upon the coaſts of Egypt. The tempeſt of political commotion appeared now with a threatening aſpect, and was ready to pour its direful contents upon that peaceful country; and ruin, the natural attendant upon a ſtate of warfare, ſeemed inevitable. But nature beſtowed on him a friendly office, by depriving him of the means of witneſſing, or being concerned in, ſo dreadful a diſaſter. The period of this prince's reign conſiſted of not leſs than 44 years, which was principally enjoyed in peace; and his departure from life was regretted by the patriotic and the virtuous. It has been

doubted where he was interred, as ſome were of opinion that the Egyptians were apprehenſive of his body being diſhonoured, ſhould Cambyſes ſucceed in his threatened invaſion; but it is likewiſe aſſerted, that his remains were embalmed, and depoſited in a ſepulchre which he built, within the temple at Sais. The event of his death happened 525 years before the chriſtian æra.

PSAMMENITUS.

The ſucceſſor of the patriotic Amaſis to the ſovereignty of Egypt was Pſammenitus, the ſon of that monarch: But ſcarcely had he been ſeated on the throne than one uniform ſcene of calamities ſucceeded upon another. That eventful period is diſtinguiſhed as much by the misfortunes of the ſon, as the preceeding reign had been eminent for the proſperity of his father.

No ſooner had the ſceptre been aſſumed by the prince, than he was obliged to defend it, by drawing the ſword from the ſcabbard. The army of Cambyſes were haſtening to the frontiers, and Pſammenitus, after collecting his forces, encamped at the Peluſian mouth of the Nile. The Perſians, having paſſed the deſarts, fixed their camp oppoſite to the Egyptians, as the ſignal to prepare for battle. The Greeks, who were auxiliaries in the pay of Egypt, were placed in the centre line; but previous to the engagement, which was to determine the paſſing of

the boundaries, they wiſhed to ſhew their reſentment to the conduct of the treacherous Phanes. For this purpoſe, ſeveral of his ſons, who were left behind, were brought to the front of the camp, in a conſpicuous ſituation, and put individually to death. The blood of his children they mixed in a vaſe, with wine and water, and every Grecian taſted of the ſanguinary compound.* Immediately after this ceremony the battle enſued; and though it was obſtinately diſputed on both ſides, the Egyptian army gave way before the diſcipline and inured valour of Cambyſes' army.

After the termination of this important battle, on which both ſides experienced conſiderable loſs,† part

* Theſe Grecians probably ſwore at the ſame time to avenge the treaſon of Phanes, or periſh. The blood of an human victim, mixed with wine, accompanied the moſt ſolemn forms of execration among the ancients. Catiline made uſe of this ſuperſtition to bind his adherents to ſecrecy: "He carried round," ſays Salluſt, "the blood of an human victim, mixed with wine; and when all had taſted it, after a ſet form of execration, (ſicut in ſolemnibus ſacris fieri conſuevit) he imparted his deſign."

BRYANT.

† By the people inhabiting the place where this battle was fought, a very ſurpriſing circumſtance was pointed out to my attention. The bones of thoſe who fell in the engagement were ſoon afterwards collected, and ſeparated into two diſtinct heaps. It was obſerved of the Perſians, that their heads were ſo extremely ſoft, as to yield to the ſlight impreſſion even of a pebble; thoſe

of the Egyptian army threw themſelves into the city of Peluſium. This city was conſidered as the key of entrance into Egypt, and was, therefore, fortified and entrenched in the moſt formidable manner, of which ancient tactics were ſuſceptible. Cambyſes, therefore, applied himſelf to the reduction of this important city and fortification; for the accompliſhment of which, he employed a ſtratagem that ſucceeded to his ſatisfaction. Extending his army around the walls of Peluſium, he placed, in the front of the ranks, an immenſe number of cats, dogs, and thoſe animals which were venerated in Egypt. Theſe ſacred animals they accounted it the higheſt impiety

of the Egyptians, on the contrary, were ſo firm, that the blow of a large ſtone could hardly break them. The reaſon which they gave for this was very ſatisfactory.—The Egyptians, from a very early age, ſhave their heads,† which, by being conſtantly expoſed to the action of the ſun, become firm and hard; this treatment, alſo, prevents baldneſs, very few inſtances of which are ever to be ſeen in Egypt. Why the ſkulls of the Perſians are ſo ſoft may be explained from their being, from their infancy, accuſtomed to ſhelter from the ſun, by their conſtant uſe of turbans. I ſaw the very ſame fact at Papremis, after examining the bones of thoſe who, under the conduct of Achemenes, ſon of Darius, were defeated by Inaros, the African.

HERODOTUS.

† The ſame cuſtom ſtill ſubſiſts: I have ſeen, every where, the children of the common people, whether running in the fields, aſſembled round the villages, or ſwimming in the waters, with their heads ſhaved and bare. Let us but imagine the hardneſs a ſkull muſt acquire thus expoſed to the ſcorching ſun, and we ſhall not be aſtoniſhed at the remark of Herodotus.

SAVARY.

to deſtroy, in conſequence of which, the Perſian army were as ſafely protected from the attacks of the beſieged, as if they had been powerfully entrenched. By this means Cambyſes employed, without impediment or apprehenſion, his capullas, rams, and other battering machines, with complete effect. The Egyptians dreaded to ſhoot an arrow, or diſcharge a ſtone from their ramparts, except on ſtraggling parties at a diſtance, where none of their conſecrated animals appeared. Thus the city was eaſily reduced, and obliged to ſurrender to the diſcretion of the conqueror.

After this ſucceſsful commencement of the Egyptian campaign to the arms of Cambyſes, the native ſoldiers ſeem to have been panic ſtruck, and fled in diſorder to Memphis, which at that time was the capital of Egypt. The Perſian arms had only then to appear, when ſubmiſſion awaited their command. Like Cæſar, (when he wrote to the ſenate at Rome, *Veni, vide, vicit,*) wherever Cambyſes came, he had only to make his appearance, and conquer. When he had, therefore, ſecured all the intermediate poſts betwixt Memphis and the ſea, he diſpatched one of his principle officers on board a Mitylenian veſſel to ſummon the capital to ſurrender. But no ſooner did the infatuated populace perceive the herald approach the city, than, without waiting to conſult his propoſals, they deſtroyed the ſhip, and inhumanly butchered the ambaſſador, with the whole crew. Such an unwarrantable outrage upon humanity, inſpired the Per-

ſian conqueror with revenge. His army immediately beſieged the city, and in a ſhort time it ſurrendered like Peluſium. The conduct he purſued after he got poſſeſſion of the capital, diſplays Cambyſes in a very unfavourable point of view. For each of the mariners who were maſſacred by the populace of Memphis, he ordered ten Egyptians to be put to death, which in all amounted to two thouſand.

The reduction of theſe two cities, which were then eſteemed the ſtrongeſt fortifications in Egypt, paved the way for the entire ſubjugation of that country. The petty ſtates that ſurrounded Egypt, particularly Lybia, Cyrene, and Barca, and which were in general ſubſervient to the will of the Egyptian monarch, diſpatched meſſengers to Cambyſes, with ſubmiſſive gratulations to implore his protection. Theſe nations became thus voluntary tributaries to the invader while he was ſubduing Egypt, without making a ſingle ſtruggle for their independence. The Perſian tyrant, as if ſenſible of their meanneſs and their daſtardly diſpoſition, had no ſooner received the preſents which the Cyreneans ſent him, and which conſiſted of 500 minae of ſilver, than he threw the whole among his ſoldiers.

Now, ſatiated with plunder, and weary with the ſubmiſſions of the weak princes, the Perſian king haſtened to diſplay a character as ſanguinary as it was impolitic. Inſtead of adopting meaſures which might tend to conciliate the affections of the people, he

acted the part of a ruthleſs barbarian, and rendered himſelf obnoxious to their indignation.—We would detail the particular circumſtances of his conduct, if we could overlook the feelings of our readers; but while we relate a few inſtances of the cruelty of this monſter in human ſhape, humanity muſt draw a veil over the reſt of her children wantonly butchered in cold blood for the amuſement of this tyrant.

Ten days after the ſurrender of Memphis, and after ſeveral thouſand of the citizens had been maſſacred, Pſammenitus, the captive king, and his family, with the Egyptian nobles, and every perſon of conſequence throughout the realm, were deſtined to undergo a ſcene of humiliation and diſtreſs unparalleled in the annals of ancient hiſtory. They were conducted without the walls of the city, and doomed, in the firſt place, to paſs in ignominious review before the fallen ſovereign and the Perſian tyrant. The daughter of Pſammenitus was clothed in the habiliments of a ſlave, and, by way of mock royalty, was obliged to head a groupe of the moſt elegant women, ſelected from the firſt families of diſtinction, in the ſame attire. In this degrading point of view, they paſſed with the moſt violent ſenſations of grief before their parents, in whom their treatment excited a correſpondent ſhare of diſtreſs. Pſammenitus alone remained like a ſpectre of inſenſibility, with his eyes declined upon the ground; even when this degrading ſight was followed by one ſtill more affecting, that of his ſon, with

two thousand Egyptians, walking with ropes about their necks, and bridles in their mouths, for the purpose of avenging the death of the vessel's crew; and whilst every one around him wept and lamented aloud, he continued like a statue, unmoved as before. But no sooner had these spectacles of distress disappeared from his sight, than an object presented itself which unmanned Psammenitus, and roused him in a moment from the insensible stupor with which he seemed affected. This was a venerable personage, who had been the friend of his father, and was his own most confidential counsellor. Now reduced to the lowest verge of distress, he was obliged to solicit an alms, to satisfy the cravings of hunger, and in this situation was requesting what would procure him a morsel of bread, when Psammenitus beheld him. To see his father's indefatiguable servant, and his own counsellor, bowed down with age, and forced to cringe to the oppressors of his country for a small boon, struck his tortured feelings in such a forcible manner, that he could no longer suppress his agony. The powers of former friendship, rushing on his recollection, produced a state of frenzy embittered with the bitterest pangs of grief, and which was the more lamentable, as it arose from the sympathy peculiar only to those in despair.*

* A very strange effect of grief is related by Mr Gibbon, in the story of Gelimer, king of the Vandals, when, after an obsti-

Officious ſpies, who had been ordered to obſerve his minuteſt actions, ſoon reported to Cambyſes the ſtrange behaviour of Pſammenitus upon this occaſion. A meſſenger was ſent from the Perſian prince, to enquire the motives of his peculiar conduct; that while he beheld with indifference his beloved daughter treated as a ſlave, and his ſon conducted with indignity to an untimely grave, he ſo pathetically deplored the fate of this mendicant, to whom he was no way related. The memorable reply which the ill-fated monarch made to this inſulting queſtion, was that of a great man ſtruggling with adverſity, and confounded even the tyrant himſelf. "Son of Cyrus," replied Pſammenitus, "my domeſtic misfortunes were too great a calamity to ſuffer me to weep, but ſympathy demanded a tear from me when I beheld my friend reduced from a dignified and wealthy ſituation, to the laſt ſtage of wretchedneſs and penury."* Upon

nate reſiſtance, he was obliged to ſurrender to Belliſarius. "The firſt public interview, (ſays the hiſtorian) was in one of the ſuburbs of Carthage, and when the conqueror accoſted his royal captive, he burſt into a fit of laughter. The crowd might naturally believe that extreme grief had deprived Gelimer of his ſenſes; but in this mournful ſtate, unſeaſonable mirth inſinuated to more intelligent obſervers, that the vain and tranſitory ſcenes of human greatneſs are unworthy of a ſerious thought." Bryor.

* This idea of extreme affliction or anger tending to check the act of weeping, is expreſſed by Shakeſpeare with wonderful ſublimity and pathos. It is part of a ſpeech of Lear. Bryor.

this affecting anſwer being given, Cræſus, who, it was ſaid, accompanied Cambyſes, was obſerved to ſhed tears, and all the Perſians who were preſent were moved with compaſſion. Even Cambyſes relented of the cruelties he had perpetrated, and immediately ordered a remiſſion of the death of the ſon of Pſammenitus; but, alas! before the order reached the ſpot where the victims were to die, he had already fallen.

Such was the tragedy that Cambyſes performed upon the theatre of that unhappy country; but, after theſe indignities were offered to the fallen monarch, he was afterwards treated with reſpect. The reſidence of this Perſian conqueror was fixed at Sais, in the Delta, where Pſammenitus was likewiſe removed. Herodotus relates, that it was the intention of Cam-

"You ſee me here, ye gods, a poor old man,
As full of grief as age, wretched in both!
If it be you that ſtir theſe daughters hearts
Againſt their father, fool me not ſo much
To bear it tamely. Touch me with noble anger,
And let not women's weapons, water drops,
Stain my man's cheeks. No, you unnatural hags,
I will have ſuch revenge on you both
That all the world ſhall——I will do ſuch things,
What they are yet I know not, but they ſhall be
The terrors of the earth.——You think I'll weep——
No, I'll not weep. I have full cauſe of weeping;
But this heart ſhall burſt into a hundred thouſand flaws,
Or e'er I weep."

byſes to raiſe this prince to a ſhare in the government of Egypt. He, indeed, aſſerts, that it was the conſtant practice of the Perſians to reverence fallen majeſty, and even though the fathers did revolt from the authority of the conqueror, the ſons frequently ſucceeded to the royal dignity. However, clemency ſeems not to have been a characteriſtic of the diſpoſition of Cambyſes. Pſammenitus did revolt, and he fell a victim to the fury of the tyrant's rage. The inſults which Pſammenitus received he wiſhed to reſent, and he took courage only from deſpair. He was detected in actual rebellion againſt his oppreſſor, and was doomed to drink a quantity of bullock's blood, which put a period to his life.†—Thus was a concluſion put to the ancient ſplendour and liberty of Egypt. After a ſhort and diſmal reign of ſix unhappy months, Pſammenitus loſt his crown, and after a ſhort captivity, in the deſperate attempt to recover his country's independence, he loſt his freedom and his life together.

† Bull's blood, taken freſh from the animal, was conſidered by the ancients as a powerful poiſon, and ſuppoſed to act by coagulating in the ſtomach. Themiſtocles, and ſeveral other perſonages of antiquity, were ſaid to have died by taking it.—See Plut. in Themiſt. and Pliny b. 28 ch 9. Ariſtophanes in the Ἱππεις, alludes to this account of the death of Themiſtocles.

Βέλτιστον ἡμῖν αἷμα ταύρειον πιεῖν
Ὁ Θεμιστοκλέους καὐθαίρετος αἱρεῖ τέρος.

BELOE.

CHAP. IV.

The tranſactions that occurred in Egypt during the Perſian empire, from its invaſion and conqueſt by Cambyſes, to the time of Alexander the Great.

THE preceding reigns of Pſammeticus, Nechus, Pſammis, Apries, Amaſis, and Pſammenitus, contain events of vaſt importance, and the ſynchroniſing occurrences of other nations bear teſtimony to their authenticity. The hiſtorian is no longer puzzled about the incertitude and fabulous complexion of his ſubject, but proceeds with a firmer ſtep in the accuracy of his detail. The period of theſe reigns occupy a ſpace of time, according to Sir Iſaac Newton, of 146 years, and which concludes the Saitic dynaſty by the death of the unhappy Pſammenitus.

In tracing the hiſtory of theſe times, we obſerve the dawn of the expanſion of the human mind. Literary and ſcientific endowments had acquired their influence in the management of human affairs, and they were even at that period converted to the nobleſt purpoſes of ſociety. We find ſome of their eminent men analyzing the principles of law, and their maxims of philoſophy directed to the well-being of ſociety. Their legiſlation and juriſprudence had already been communicated to Greece; and indeed all nations where civilization had extended its influence, reſorted

to Egypt, as their preceptors in ſcience and in laws. Their works of art had likewiſe acquired that celebrity, of which even the moderns, poſſeſſed of the niceſt diſcrimination of taſte, have expreſſed their wonder and aſtoniſhment. Their immenſe excavations from the boſom of the ſolid rock, with their deep and extenſive canals, which aſſiſted nature in pouring exuberance upon the banks of the Nile and the adjacent deſarts of the Lybian Waſte; the huge pillar and the lofty obeliſk; the vaſt maſſive pyramid, reared upon its immoveable baſe; the beautiful mauſoleum, the depoſitory of the honoured dead; and the ſplendid ſolemn temple, the ſuppoſed reſidence of the gods, were ſuch efforts of genius, as ſurpaſſed every other part of the world, and were objects which rendered Egypt, even at that early period, famous among all the nations of the earth.

The invaſion of Egypt under Cambyſes, however, eradicated the fine arts. By that conqueſt, their laws, their independence, and their government was ſubverted; and their national dignity was fallen to the loweſt mark of depreſſion. Their long line of anceſtors, and the antiquity of their nation, which they traced back through dynaſties beyond the flood, and which their vanity claimed as originating from the gods, were now extinct and buried in oblivion. Their religion was trampled upon and outraged in the moſt ſacrilegious manner; and the native Egyp-

tians, who all accounted themſelves noble, and born to liberty and independence, were doomed to the galling yoke of ſlavery and oppreſſion by a foreigner and a Perſian! Such was the afflicting picture that now preſented itſelf to the conquered Egyptians.*

But theſe barbarous actions of Cambyſes did not terminate here. He even left a monument of his inſatiable rage, by violating the ſacred manſions of the dead. The father of Pſammenitus, whoſe body had received the funeral obſequies of a grateful nation,

* We cannot help obſerving the contraſt betwixt the conduct of Cyrus the Great, the father of Cambyſes, towards the Egyptians, from the inhumanity of his degenerate ſon. When that accompliſhed prince was contending with the Aſſyrian empire for the dominion of the moſt beautiful part of Aſia, he defeated the whole of the Aſſyrian army, which was eſtimated, *in* reſpect to numbers, as the ſands of the ocean, except a body of Egyptian auxiliaries amounting to about 30,000 men. The Egyptians being in alliance with the Aſſyrians, this body of men ſtood firm as a phalanx after the others were defeated, and were determined to keep their ground, or periſh to a man. With the generoſity peculiar to his character, he pitied and admired their intrepidity, even though his enemies, and ſent a meſſage to their commander, offering the moſt honourable terms of capitulation. The high character of Cyrus for valour and clemency induced the Egyptians to liſten to the propoſal, and they therefore ſurrendered. The noble Cyrus received them with the higheſt marks of attention, and ſuffered them to return to their country loaden with honours, and with his greateſt eſteem. How magnanimous the deportment of Cyrus to the Egyptians, from that of his ſon and ſucceſſor Cambyſes! A.

and was committed to the ſilent tomb, was torn from its reſidence, and inſulted with every mark of indignity which cruelty could deviſe. The lifeleſs body of Amaſis was beaten with rods, the hair was plucked from its roots, the fleſh was goaded with knives and ſpears, and every mark of ignominy was performed which could have been inflicted as a puniſhment had he been alive. When Cambyſes was fatigued with theſe outrages, he ordered the body to be burned. This ſight was truly affecting to the Egyptians, as they now felt the preſſure of conqueſt in the ſevereſt manner. Their depoſitaries of the dead to be violated, as well as the unworthy treatment of the body of the patriotic Amaſis,† left no room for conſolation, as they religiouſly conſidered the embalmed bodies of their anceſtors in the moſt ſacred point of view. Cambyſes likewiſe paid no regard to the religion of his country in this laſt act of outrage upon the

† The Egyptians aſſert that the above indignities were not inflicted upon the body of Amaſis, but that the Perſians were deceived, and perpetrated theſe inſults on ſome other Egyptian of the ſame age with that prince. Amaſis, they ſay, was informed by an oracle of the injuries intended againſt his body, to prevent which, he ordered the perſon who really ſuſtained them to be placed at the entrance of his tomb, whilſt he himſelf, by directions given to his ſon, was placed in ſome ſecret and interior receſs of the ſepulchre. Theſe aſſertions I cannot believe, and am rather inclined to impute them to the vanity of the Egyptians.

HERODOTUS.

body of Amasis, as the Persians venerated fire as a divinity.‡

The conduct of Cambyses became still more detestable, and each succeeding day was attended with some enormity which he committed, more flagrant than the preceding one. Herodotus, indeed, considers the behaviour of this man, as characteristic of a madman. If he was deprived of his reason, upon some occasions, it appears, however, that in obtaining any object he had in view, he did not hesitate to employ the most violent and iniquitous means which tyranny or ambition could suggest. Without the shadow of a pretence, he dispatched an army of 50,000 men from Thebes, in Upper Egypt, to plunder the far-famed temple of Jupiter Ammon, and marched himself with the remainder of his forces to invade Ethiopia. In these expeditions he was deservedly foiled. The army that was destined to attack the Ammonians perished in the deserts, through the

‡ This expression must not be understood in too rigorous a sense. Fire was certainly regarded by the Persians as something sacred, and, perhaps, they might render it some kind of religious worship, which, in its origin, referred only to the deity of which this element was an emblem. But it is certain this nation did not believe fire to be a deity, otherwise how would they have dared to have extinguished it throughout Persia, on the death of the sovereign, as we learn from Diodorus Siculus.

LARCHER.

treachery of their guides;* and his own troops had nearly fallen a ſacrifice to the hororrs of famine. He returned, after a fruitleſs ſtruggle with the parched deſarts, and with hunger, before he had reached the half of his journey, and after ſuſtaining the loſs of nearly half his army.†

* What happens at preſent in performing this journey, proves the event to be very credible. Travellers, departing from Egypt's fertile valley towards the tropic, march ſeven days before they come to the firſt town in Ethiopia. They find their way in the day time by looking at marks, and at night by obſerving the ſtars. The ſand hills they had obſerved in the preceding journey, having often been carried away by the winds, deceive the guides; and if they wander the leaſt out of the road, the camels, having paſſed five and ſix days without drinking, ſink under their burden, and die. The men are not long before they ſubmit to the ſame fate, and ſometimes out of a great number, not a ſingle traveller eſcapes. At others, the burning ſands from the ſouth raiſe vortexes of duſt, which ſuffocate man and beaſt, and the next caravan ſees the ground ſtrewed with bodies totally parched up.

SAVARY.

† Before he had performed a fifth part of his intended expedition, the proviſions he carried with him were totally conſumed. They eat the animals, which conveyed the baggage till they failed; and even then had theſe incidents cauſed the paſſions of Cambyſes to cool, and induced him to ſend his army back, notwithſtanding his indiſcretion, he ſtill might have deſerved praiſe. But inſtead of this, his infatuation continued, and he proceeded on his march. The ſoldiers were content to feed upon vegetables, ſo long as the earth afforded them any; but when they arrived among the ſandy deſarts, they were prompted by famine to proceed to the moſt

When he arrived again at Memphis, the Egyptians were in the act of celebrating the appearance of their deity, Apis.† This festival excited his indignation, as he very naturally imagined that the true motive was a rejoical at his late disasters. In consequence of that suspicion, he ordered the magistrates of the city to be summoned before him. They were questioned respecting the festival; but he discredited their relation, and, in a rage, ordered them to be punished with death, as being guilty of a falsehood. The priests were next interrogated, and they affirmed what the magistrates had told him. The god in question was then demanded to be seen, and when conducted to his presence, Cambyses was transported with rage. By judging of his own opinion on subjects of religion, he imputed the veneration of the Egyptians to this animal as an insult to the deity, and, therefore, drew his sword and stabbed him in the belly, of which the animal soon after died. The priests he commanded to be scourged, and the festival was ordered to be discontinued under pain of death.—Such were the continued acts of atrocity which the tyrant of Persia was daily perpetrating indiscriminately upon his friends and his enemies. Without

horrid extremities. Lots were cast, and every tenth man was destined to satisfy the hunger of the rest. The intelligence of this fact alone compelled him to return. HERODOTUS.

† See page 24 of vol. II. for an account of the god Apis. A.

reſpect to the ſanctity of temples, the cuſtoms of nations, and the prejudices of education, he trampled upon the laws, the religion, and the inſtitutions of the Egyptians. His conduct was, therefore, deteſted, and his memory was execrated. A period, however, was ſoon put to this reign of iniquity. In the act of mounting his horſe, the ſcabbard accidentally dropped from his ſword, and in ſeating himſelf on horſeback, he was wounded mortally in the groin.* The Egyptian prieſthood conſoled themſelves upon the calamities which Cambyſes had inflicted on their country and on their religion, when they heard how his death was occaſioned. They obſerved that he had wounded their deity, Apis, in a ſimilar part of the body, and the ſacrilegious murder met with the retribution of heaven, by a ſimilar puniſhment. How blind is the ſuperſtition of weak minds! How mortifying the debaſement of the human underſtanding!

The death of Cambyſes was received in Syria; but before he left Egypt, he appointed a prefect to ſuperintend his affairs in that country, whoſe name was

ARYANDES.

Become now a province of the Perſian empire, Egypt dwindled into inſignificance, and her name

* In ancient times, if we can judge from the alluſions of Homer, the ſword was worn over the ſhoulder. When we conſider, therefore, the attitude of Cambyſes in mounting his horſe, the particular part of the body where he is ſaid to have received the wound does not at all appear improbable.

only occasionally appeared in history, as it was connected with the ambitious views of the viceroys that were appointed to rule over her. Herodotus relates, that Darius, the successor of Cambyses, having aspired to a pre-eminent share of glory in the annals of history, was become jealous of every power that attempted to pursue a similar conduct. Aryandes, elated with the riches and the fertility of Egypt, endeavoured, it seems, to emulate the works of his royal master, Darius. He prepared to march an army into Africa, for the purpose of subduing several refractory states that had been previously overrun by Darius, but which had afterwards thrown off the yoke. He also issued a coin of the purest silver, which he denominated *Aryandic*, in conformity to a valuable gold coin which was previously struck by the orders of Darius, called *Daric*. Both of them were remarkable for the purity and excellence of their metals. When Darius heard of these transactions by the prefect of Egypt, he considered Aryandes as having already revolted from his subjection. At that particular period, he had been making the necessary preparations to invade Greece, when he resolved previously to subdue Egypt. These preparations had cost him the labour of three years, when the Egyptian rebellion occurred; but soon after that event, his career was arrested by death, without being able to gratify his resentment against that people.

It is related, indeed, by Diodorus, that Darius

went in perſon to quell an inſurrection in Egypt; but as his reign conſiſted of ſo long a ſpace of time as 36 years, it is not improbable, that, at ſome prior period, the diſaffection which the Egyptians always ſhewed to the Perſian yoke, might have called for all the military power he was poſſeſſed of, before he could cruſh their inſubordination. It ſeems, however, that Darius found the imprudence and the impoliey of following the footſteps of Cambyſes, in ruling the conquered provinces. Inſtead of the tyranny and haughty inſolence of a conqueror, he ſhewed the mildneſs and clemency of a patriot king. He conſulted the ſage ſenators and prieſts, and modelled the laws of Egypt upon a ſimilar principle with the inſtitutions of their favourite kings. Their religion he protected from the violence of the Perſian ſoldiery, and even ſhewed a reverence to their gods and temples himſelf.* Such a conduct naturally conciliated the regard of the people; it has probably been, therefore, an inſurrection

* At what period of the reign of Darius he viſited Egypt, we are no way informed; but from the relation of Diodorus, in mentioning that he wiſhed his ſtatue placed before that of Seſoſtris, it would appear that it was ſubſequent to Darius' expedition to Scythia. The hiſtorian relates, that when that requeſt was made to the chief prieſt of the Egyptians, the reply was, "that he had not yet equalled the glory of that conqueror;" evidently alluding to ſome expedition he had made. The anſwer of Darius, without being offended at the high prieſt's obſervation, was, that he would endeavour to ſurpaſs it. A.

of the Egyptians againſt the arbitrary adminiſtration of Aryandes himſelf, that required the aid of Darius in order to ſubdue them. It is not related how long the reign of Aryandes the prefect conſiſted; but as there is no remarkable change taken notice of, from Cambyſes till the invaſion under Xerxes, it is preſumed that the ſame prefectſhip continued for about 40 years. It would appear that Egypt had attempted to throw off the Perſian yoke about that period, perhaps immediately ſubſequent to the demiſe of Aryandes, as the whole power of Xerxes was found neceſſary before Egypt could again be ſubdued.

When Xerxes had accompliſhed the ſubjugation of Egypt, he placed his brother

ACHEMENES

As ſovereign over that devoted country. Elated with the ſucceſs which attended his firſt experiment in arms, he afterwards directed his attention to the conqueſt of the warlike ſtates of Greece. That mighty army, which conſiſted of 300,000 men, and a proportionate number of ſhips, Egypt was deſtined to find with proviſions. She likewiſe aſſiſted that immenſe armament with a fleet of 200 veſſels of war, and manned them with her moſt experienced ſeamen. A conſiderable body of Egyptian ſoldiers formed alſo a part of the army of Xerxes, with which he intended to ſubdue that flouriſhing country. Theſe ſhips and troops were under the direction of Achemenes, the

viceroy of Egypt. But the bravery of a handful of freemen defeated the projects of this mighty hoſt; and from this diſaſtrous event may be dated the decline of the power of Perſia.

When Xerxes returned to his capital, inſtead of repairing the loſs he had ſuſtained, he devoted his attention to the blandiſhments of pleaſure, and all the effeminate luxuries of the eaſt. His public affairs were conſequently neglected, and the diſtant provinces, which were only preſerved by military power, were ripening for revolt. Such was the ſtate of Perſian politics, when a conſpiracy put a period to the life and the reign of Xerxes. Artaxerxes, the third ſon of the deceaſed monarch, now aſcended the throne, when he was obliged to employ the military ſtrength of the empire to ſubdue the inſurrections throughout the provinces.

It is an obſervation founded in experience, that when a nation fails in the ſtruggle to obtain her liberty, her chains are afterwards more firmly rivetted by her oppreſſors. Thus it happened with Egypt, after the invaſion under Xerxes. Achemenes, in perfect ſubmiſſion to the inſolence of the Perſian tyrant, ſtudiouſly acted in conformity to his imperious orders, and harraſſed the Egyptian people whenever he was preſented with an opportunity.

Many of the Egyptians who felt this load of oppreſſion, left their native country, and preferred the uncertain friendſhip of a foreign land, or the perilous

fatigues of the ſurrounding deſarts, to being the witneſſes or the ſufferers in their country's ſlavery.* Their young men were trained to arms, for the purpoſe of ſerving their oppreſſors; and their country was diveſted of its produce, to ſupply their enemy's wants. Several of them fled to the barren diſtricts of Lybia, where they found an aſylum in the friendly protection of Inarus, the ſon of Pſammeticus.

However, when the Perſian forces were routed, and revolt and diſaſter attended the affairs of Xerxes, they again began to meditate a deliverance from a foreign yoke. After the death of that prince, they invited the prince of Lybia to eſpouſe their cauſe. The Athenians, being glad of ſuch an opportunity as the Egyptian inſurrection to weaken the power of Perſia,

* The oppreſſion of a populous country has more effectually tended to colonize the deſarts, and the ungenial parts of the earth, than any other cauſe. The barren iſlands of Greece, in ancient times, and the woody country of America, in our own days, have both acquired, by this means, an unrivalled degree of ſplendour and glory. The deſarts of Africa and Arabia rear alſo a race of hardy freemen, called Bedouin Arabs, who will rather ſuffer moſt of the privations of life, and live in poverty, than permit themſelves to be governed by the deſpots of Turkey. From what country they originally came, and the reaſon why they have ſo long continued in that roving mode of life, it is impoſſible to aſcertain; but it is probable that the oppreſſions exerciſed anciently upon the Egyptians, or ſome other populous country, have originally forced them to ſeek refuge in thoſe unhoſpitable climates.

A.

alſo proffered their aſſiſtance. The revolt of the Egyptians from the Perſian authority now became general, and, by the co-operation of the Athenians, Inarus was able to act offenſively againſt Achemenes. Revenge operated as powerfully as patriotiſm to ſtrengthen the Egyptian army, and their energy in battle was increaſed from the dreadful proſpect of receiving no quarter from the Perſians. The fate of the Perſian army was ſuch as might be expected from ſo powerful an inſurrection, aſſiſted by the Athenians. They were defeated with great ſlaughter before Papremis, and Inarus became ſoverdign over Egypt and Lybia.

Artaxerxes having aſcended the throne of Perſia, was terribly alarmed at the Egyptian revolt. An army of 300,000 men was immediately collected from every quarter of the realm, and he was determined to march in perſon againſt the rebels. The firſt ardor of his enthuſiaſm being, however, abated, he thought proper to forego the glory of a conqueror, in conſequence of the danger attending the expedition, and, therefore, preferred his uncle Achemenes to the command of the enterprize. The Perſian army marched to the eaſtern banks of the Nile, and there encamped, without the leaſt oppoſition. The Egyptian army retired to the oppoſite ſide of the river till the arrival of their Athenian allies, who were employed in purſuing the Perſian fleet. Their allies ſucceeded in crippling

the naval power of Artaxerxes, by the deſtruction of 50 of their ſhips, and then directed their attention to an engagement with the army of Achemenes. The Athenians ſailed up the river to join Inarus, and again defeated the Perſian army, of which one-third was deſtroyed, and Achemenes himſelf was ſlain. The remainder of thoſe forces that eſcaped from the field of battle threw themſelves into the city of Memphis, where they were beſieged by the allied army for the ſpace of three years. They made a vigourous defence, and, though they loſt two-thirds of the city, they retained that part of Memphis called the *White wall*, till Artaxerxes diſpatched another army to their relief.

When the monarch of Perſia heard of this freſh diſaſter to his army, he endeavoured to detach the Athenians from the Egyptian alliance. Not being ſucceſsful in that enterprize, he attempted to engage Sparta in a war with Athens, in order to make a diverſion that might draw their forces from Egypt. For that purpoſe he offered the Lacedemonians a bribe, but his endeavours were unavailing. Theſe refuſals ſtill did not abate his ardor. He ſent a freſh army of 300,000 men to Egypt, the command of which he gave to Megabyſus and Artabaſus, the two moſt valiant and experienced generals in his ſervice. A powerful fleet was fitted out to co-operate with this immenſe army, of which Artabaſus had the command, while Megabyſus directed the operations

of the land forces. They both ſucceeded in approaching Memphis without impediment, and compelled Inarus and his army to raiſe the ſiege. The beſieged army and this immenſe force having joined, the fate of Egypt now became precarious, and depended ſolely upon the event of a battle. The ſtrength and valour of the Egyptians, and the diſcipline of the Athenians, were, however, unavailing, againſt an army of near 500,000 men. Inarus and the Athenians were defeated, and every Egyptian that was found in arms was put to the ſword. The prince, though wounded by Megabyſus, retreated with the braveſt of the Egyptians, and a conſiderable body of Athenians, to the city of Biblos, in the iſland of Proſopitis. This iſland was ſurrounded by two branches of the Nile, and as they were navigable for the ſhips of the Athenians, they were ſecure from the attacks of the enemy, and held out during a ſiege of eighteen months.

The unfortunate termination of this important battle ſpeedily led to the reduction of the diſaffected Egyptians throughout the higher parts of the country. Amyrteus alone, with a handful of brave ſoldiers, kept the whole Perſian army at defiance in the marſhy parts of lower Egypt. Like the modern Arabs they harraſſed and cut off many of their enemies, in ſmall parties; and when the Perſians attempted to penetrate into the fens, theſe deſultory ſkirmiſhes tended

more effectually to reduce the ſtrength of their army than ſeveral conteſted battles.

Inarus and the Athenians ſtill retained poſſeſſion of the iſland of Proſopitis; and, indeed, ſo long as they preſerved a communication with the Mediterranean by means of the Athenian ſhips, ſupplies could always be procured. The Perſians deſpaired of reducing the fortreſs by force, as the intrepidity and ſkill of the beſieged baffled every means of attack they were acquainted with. They, therefore, adopted an expedient which, at length, produced what the whole ſtrength of the Perſian army could not effectuate. The navigable channel of the Nile was turned from its uſual courſe. The beſieged were then reduced to the alternative of dying by hunger and thirſt, or, except they could capitulate, to oppoſe themſelves to the whole army. Inarus, by his bravery, however, procured a capitulation contrary to the uſual ſeverity of the Perſians towards provinces that revolted. The Egyptians and about 50 Athenians ſurrendered on the condition that their lives ſhould be ſpared. About ſix thouſand of the auxilliary forces refuſed to ſurrender as priſoners of war, and were determined, rather than be treated at the diſcretion of a Perſian tyrant, to ſell their lives as dearly as poſſible. Like the brave Lacedemonians, who refuſed to yield, and who died amid heaps of the enemy's ſlain, at the battle of Themopylae, they reſolved to die ſword in hand, rather than ſubmit upon

unequal terms. In conformity to this reſolution they ſet fire to the ſhipping that were lying in the dry channel of the Nile, formed in order of battle, and awaited the enemy's attack. Such a deſperate reſolution made even the whole Perſian army tremble. Megabyſus, however, propoſed a truce, and offered pacific and honourable terms to the Athenians. They, therefore, judged the propoſition too favourable to be rejected, and they agreed to evacuate Egypt, after leaving the conquerors in poſſeſſion of the iſland.

Thus, after a ſtruggle of ſix years for the independence of Egypt, in which the whole ſtrength of the Perſian empire was engaged, it again became a province under Artaxerxes. The Athenians, no doubt, crippled the power of that unwieldy government, but the loſs which they experienced was likewiſe conſiderable. A fleet of 50 ſail of Grecian ſhips, deſtined for the relief of Proſopitis, after that fortreſs had ſurrendered, were nearly deſtroyed, and nigh 10,000 brave ſoldiers were entombed in Egypt. The natives themſelves were butchered without mercy, and all the priſoners who were taken in battle experienced a cruel death. Five years after the Egyptian war had ceaſed, Inarus, with the 50 Athenians, were, in contradiction to the ſolemn treaty with Megabyſus, cruelly ſacrificed at the inſtigation of Artaxerxes' mother. Such an act of wanton barbarity muſt eternally ſtamp his memory with execration; as nothing

but the groſſeſt depravity of the human heart could have ſtimulated a woman to revenge, when the violation of a nation's faith was the ſacrifice; and the heart of Artaxerxes muſt have approached the loweſt ſtage of moral turpitude, to be guilty of ſuch flagrant injuſtice, at the importunities even of a mother. The brave Megabyſus felt his honour ſo deeply injured, that he openly revolted from the Perſian tyrant, and took up arms to avenge the affront which Artaxerxes had inflicted. All the power of Perſia could not ſubdue him in the faſtneſſes of Syria; and not till years had elapſed, and many conceſſions granted, would he forgive the inſult which he received.

AMYRTEUS.

We are no where informed who was entruſted with the government of Egypt during this period; but after a lapſe of a few years, Amyrteus, the intrepid leader of thoſe brave men who retreated to the fens, became ſo formidable to the Perſian army, that he diſputed the poſſeſſion of Lower Egypt, and alternately loſt and won the moſt conſiderable fortreſſes in that part of the country. When the Athenians heard of the ſtruggle which Amyrteus was making, to recover his native country from the tyrannic government of Artaxerxes, they ſympathetically propoſed, notwithſtanding the loſſes they had ſuſtained, that aſſiſtance ſhould be given to the Egyptians. The brave and able general, Cimon, had, at this

critical juncture, the affairs of Athens under his direction. To diſtract the plans of Perſia he invaded the coaſts of Syria, Phœnicia, Cilicia, and Cyprus. Under cover of theſe movements he diſpatched 60 ſail of ſhips of war, in which were an army of auxiliaries to aſſiſt Amyrteus. With this aſſiſtance the injured Egyptians perceived their ſuperiority over the Perſians, and they flocked to the ſtandard of their general.

At this period, the death of their oppreſſor, Artaxerxes, occurred, after a reign of 48 years. The era of his death happened about 425 years before Chriſt. His ſon Xerxes aſcended the throne; but, after a ſhort reign of only 45 days, he was aſſaſſinated, in a fit of intoxication, by his brother Sogdianus. This monſter aſſumed the government of Perſia himſelf, after he had murdered every one that he imagined could defeat or oppoſe his ambition. But Ochus (his brother by a concubine to whom Artaxerxes had left the government of Hercania) took up arms againſt the bloody uſurper, and was ſupported by the nobility and the governors of the provinces. Sogdianus was abandoned by his ſoldiery, and Ochus was elected to the throne. The murderer was afterwards cruelly deprived of life, after an enjoyment of royalty only ſix months and fifteen days. Immediately after his death, Ochus changed his name to that of Darius; but hiſtorians, by way of diſtinction, have added the epithet of *Nothus*, a Greek word which ſignifies *baſtard*.

After his aſcenſion to the throne of Perſia, ſeveral of his brothers inſtituted a revolt in many of the provinces. Their ſchemes were, however, defeated, and the power of Darius Nothus became firmly eſtabliſhed.

During theſe rebellions throughout ſeveral of the Perſian provinces, the affairs of Amyrteus were ſucceſsful, and all the power of Darius could not oppoſe or withſtand his progreſs. He ſpeedily recovered Egypt from the ſubjection of Perſia, and was juſtly rewarded with the ſovereignty, by the concurrence of a grateful people. He ſubdued the Perſian forces in every engagement, and, after expelling them from the Egyptian territories, he prepared to purſue them into Phœnicia. The neighbouring ſtates in Arabia co-operated with his forces, and defeat and diſaſter ſtill continued to attend the Perſian arms. Darius (aware that univerſal revolt would ſucceed upon partial loſſes, ſhould the news of theſe victories of Amyrteus reach the capital, and the diſtant provinces) recalled his fleets and armies that were employed againſt the Grecian ſtates. Amyrteus had now to cope with ſuperior numbers, and the progreſs of his victories was arreſted. In one of the battles wherein he was engaged in Phœnicia, it is believed he fell, after having preſided over Egypt about ſix years.

PAUSIRIS.

The Perſians having now experienced, that without the approbation of the people, they could not retain

poſſeſſion of Egypt, except with great anarchy and bloodſhed, appear to have compromiſed the differences, by allowing the people to chuſe their own ſovereign, on paying tribute to the Perſian empire. Upon this principle, Pauſiris, the ſon of Amyrteus, was invited to wear the diadem. How long he reigned, we are not informed; but as neither the hiſtory of the Grecian nor the Perſian tranſactions hint at any great events with which Egypt was concerned, it would ſeem that he cultivated the happineſs of the people, and the welfare of his country. The hiſtory of a country at peace afforded no charms to a Grecian philoſopher; it was great diſaſters and political commotion that employed the pens of Herodotus and Thucydides, the theme of Homer and of Æſchilus.

About the concluſion of Pauſiris's reign, the death of Darius the baſtard occurred, after occupying the throne of Perſia 19 years. Arſaſis, his eldeſt ſon, whoſe name was changed to Artaxerxes Mnemon, ſucceeded to the crown. The name of Mnemon was given him, from the circumſtance of his being poſſeſſed of a retentive memory. Like the commencement of the reign of his predeceſſors, the provinces were deluged with blood. The ambitious viceroys were diſpleaſed with the new ſovereign, and diſſatisfied that they themſelves were not called to the throne. Several ſtates, whoſe independence had been violated, embraced theſe opportunities of freeing themſelves from the Perſian yoke. Egypt had nearly ſucceeded, and

the late reign was an era of peace, in conſequence of her own ſtrength and the weakneſs of Perſia. But ſhe was ſtill ſubjected to an odious tribute, which was viewed as a deteſtable badge of ſlavery. To free herſelf from the remaining mark of a degraded connection with Perſia,

ACHORIS,

Who ſucceeded Pauſiris, united himſelf with ſeveral diſaffected princes, and the Lacedemonian commonwealth. By the aſſiſtance he communicated to Evagoras of Cyprus, an army of 200,000 men was required before the ſmall city of Salamin could be compelled to ſurrender; and his fleets, along with thoſe of his ally, repeatedly defeated the whole maritime force of Perſia, though not half in ſtrength or numbers. Artaxerxes had long obſerved theſe hoſtile diſpoſitions of the Egyptians with an invidious eye. His armies had, however, too much employment in calming the diſaffections among the Medes and Perſians, and in reducing the iſland of Cyprus to his ſubjection, to give him an opportunity of ſhewing his reſentment to the Egyptians in open arms. But he determined at length to convert that country again into a Perſian province. For that purpoſe, he raiſed an army of nearly five hundred thouſand Perſians and Grecians, to be deſtined ſolely for the reduction of Egypt. A camp was formed ſolely at Acæ, a city in Paleſtine, where the whole armament was reviewed,

and their plans concerted. A fleet of 200 ſail of veſſels, with 30 oars in each, and about twice as many tranſports, were appointed to co-operate with the forces upon land. The command of the whole was divided betwixt Pharnabaſus the Perſian, and the Grecian general, Iphicrates.

Such formidable preparations had not eſcaped the vigilance of the Egyptian monarch. The Perſians, indeed, were ſo extremely ſlow in their motions, that a ſpace of two years elapſed, before that mighty armament was compleated, and ready for the field. Such remiſſneſs left the prudent Achoris many opportunities of concerting meaſures for the defeat of this unweildy army. His own troops were diſciplined in the Grecian art of war, and a large army of auxilliaries, who were principally Greeks, were admitted into his ſervice. Theſe precautions, however, though they tended to enſure ſafety to his country, were unavailing to himſelf; for he died in the midſt of them, and was ſucceeded by

PSAMMUTHIS.

The ancients are ſilent reſpecting this prince, who was the ſucceſſor of Achoris. His reign was of ſhort duration, and nothing is related of him that claimed the attention of the hiſtorian. It is not improbable, that either the peculiar difficulty of the ſituation in which he was about to form a conſpicuous figure, or perhaps the effect of a civil commotion, might occa-

ſion his removal. However, he did not occupy the throne of Egypt above 12 months, when he was ſucceeded by

NEPHRERITUS.

The ſhort period of this prince's reign is likewiſe remarkable. Only four months was the limited term of his ſovereignty; but what was the cauſe of his death, or his removal, we are at a loſs to aſcertain. It is related, indeed, by Diodorus, that Nephreus, a general of the Egyptian forces, who was in alliance with the Lacedemonians about the time that Ageſilaus was commander of their armies, and making war upon Artaxerxes in Aſia, was taken priſoner by the Perſians under Conon. When that event happened, he was returning from Rhodes with a fleet under his command, (whither he was driven by a ſtorm) to the aſſiſtance of the Lacedemonians. This Nephreus is moſt probably the ſame character, and, without doubt, would experience his death at that conjuncture by the Perſians.—The throne was reſerved for his ſucceſſor,

NECTANEBUS,

Who was afterwards called to the ſovereignty of Egypt, and the direction of their affairs, during the Perſian invaſion.

The power of Artaxerxes was now in motion. His forces, after being concentrated in Paleſtine, began

to direct their attention to the object in contemplation; and while the fleets of Perſia, which were collected upon the ſhores of Phenicia, began to ſail, the army on the land was moving towards the frontiers of Egypt. Nectanebus in the mean time was employed in ſtrengthening the city of Peluſium, and the fortreſſes along the coaſt. He naturally ſuppoſed that Peluſium would be the firſt object of their attack, and, therefore, proportionate pains were beſtowed upon that city, in order to foil, if poſſible, the combined force of Perſia.

According as Nectanebus had portended, the phalanxes of Artaxerxes approached the eaſtern boundary of Egypt, and inveſted the city of Peluſium with their whole force. Very opportunely for the Egyptian king, the land and naval commanders of the Perſian armies were jealous of each others abilities and fame. Their views of the plan of operations differed ſo eſſentially, that they reciprocally retarded rather than accelerated the object of the campaign. Their attack upon the city of Peluſium was nerveleſs and ineffectual, and they were compelled to retire with their land forces and reimbark, and try the ſtrength of their arms upon ſome more defenceleſs part of Egypt.

The ſeven mouths of the Nile were fortified in as ſtrong a manner as their knowledge of tactics would admit; but the Mendeſian branch was more incapable of fortification than any other quarter of the

coaſt. Of this the Perſians were, no doubt, well aware; and they, therefore, took advantage of the weakneſs of its fortreſs, to penetrate, by that means, into the interior of the country. They landed, and took the place by ſtorm, and the ſoldiers who were deſtined for its defence were indiſcriminately put to the ſword.

The military enthuſiaſm of the Grecian general Iphicrates was now enflamed, and he wiſhed to purſue the advantage while the troops were animated with victory, and the Egyptians diſheartened by defeat. The Perſian commander Pharnabuſes was of a diſpoſition not ſo ardent and enterpriſing, and he wiſhed rather to wait the approach of the whole army, in order to ſecure the ſubjugation of the country as they conquered. This claſhing of opinions but ill correſponded with the nature of the enterprize they purſued, and it was improbable that ſucceſs would continue to await their arms under ſuch an oppoſition. Iphicrates would have followed up the victory with his handful of Grecian ſoldiers, which amounted only to 20,000 men; but abject jealouſy even counteracted this bold propoſition, as Pharnabuſes was afraid that the reputation of his ſucceſs would wither the laurels which he was now anticipating the ſpeedy proſpect of reaping.*

* Patriotiſm, or their country's glory, burns in general very feebly in the breaſts of military men. If there is a paſſion, it is

The delay which theſe invidious quarrels occaſioned, afforded the active genius of Nectanebus an opportunity of baffling the mighty projects of the Perſian army. He planted detached parties in the fens, which harraſſed the wings and rear of the enemy's forces, and he garriſoned every city that could oppoſe their progreſs. Memphis he ſecured in the moſt formidable manner, and he marched into the field in perſon with the beſt of the troops, to annoy the march of the main army, by diſputing every poſt that could afford them any ſuccour or advantage.

The event of a battle might have been dubious, but he was conſcious that, by daily annoying them from the faſtneſſes of Lower Egypt, he would reduce them, more ſlowly indeed, but ultimately, with more effect and with little danger. The event ſhewed the propriety of his reaſoning, for without a victory or a

that of their own fame. This reaſoning is particularly applicable to deſpotic governments. The common ſoldier has no motive but his pay and plunder; but the general pants after fame. For this he will ſacrifice his army, and even his country, if it ſtood in competition with the object in view. It is not ſurprizing, therefore, to find two generals of abilities quarelling upon a little etiquette. It is ſuch a common occurrence, that, in the hiſtory of Europe, indeed, of theſe laſt ten years, numerous inſtances could be adduced. It is only a few months ago ſince the names of the Archduke Charles and General Suwarro could afford a brilliant example of this obſervation. It is in free governments only, where Patriotiſm directs the abilities of military men, this mercenary glory is to them a ſtranger. A.

battle he compelled the Perſians to retreat. The regular overflow of the Nile ſecured what their deſultory mode of fighting had accompliſhed. The Perſians were obliged to reimbark with their whole army to avoid the danger of the inundation, as they had reduced no city or fortreſs that could maintain them till it ſubſided.

Such was the termination of this formidable invaſion. Mutual jealouſy and diſcord, ſupineneſs and rivalſhip in command, diſtracted the meaſures of the army, and retarded their operations; but it is obvious that the conduct of Pharnabuſes defeated the ſucceſs of the campaign. The lower part of Egypt being one unvaried ſurface, has occaſioned that country frequently to be invaded and plundered by the ſurrounding nations. It has no natural gariſons or fortifications to withſtand a formidable attack. It is, therefore, more to be wondered at, that ſuch an immenſe army, regularly trained to arms, and under experienced generals, ſhould have been compelled to retreat in a flat open country.

Thus was an expedition more powerful than that of Cambyſes, and which coſt immenſe ſums and two years preparation, concluded in diſgrace and diſaſter. The beſt part of the Perſian troops fell a ſacrifice to the improper conduct of their generals. Mutual accuſations were reciprocally preſented to their reſpective courts; but the ſkill and bravery of Iphicrates found an advocate in the Athenian people that repel-

led the invectives of Pharnabuſes, and made them recoil upon himſelf. The latter found an adequate excuſe in the tedious and ineffectual plans with which he was entruſted by Artaxerxes, and in the nature of thoſe orders by which his conduct in the campaign was to be regulated.*—The power and tranquility of Nectanebus's reign were, however, eſtabliſhed. He now directed his attention to the cultivation of the country, and the reparation of thoſe breaches in their public works which the devaſtation of war had occaſioned. After a reign of ten years, eight of which was enjoyed after the Perſian invaſion, he died amidſt the regret and the eſteem of his ſubjects. He was ſucceeded in the throne by

TACHOS.

This prince had the penetration to diſcover that,

* Moſt of the projects of the Perſian court miſcarried by their ſlowneſs in putting them in execution. Their generals' hands were tied up, and nothing was left to their diſcretion. They had a plan of conduct in their inſtructions, from which they did not dare to depart. If any accident happened, that had not been foreſeen and provided againſt, they muſt wait for new orders from court, and before they arrived, the opportunity was entirely loſt. Iphicrates, having obſerved that Pharnabuſes took his reſolutions with all the preſence of mind and penetration that could be deſired in an accompliſhed general, aſked him, one day, How it happened he was ſo quick in his views, and ſo ſlow in his actions? "It is (replied he) becauſe my views depend only upon me, but their execution upon my maſter."

ROLLIN.

under the feigned appearance of Perſia attacking ſome other country, Egypt was the ultimate object of their deſigns. He, therefore, wiſely conſidered that preparation was a neceſſary precaution, in order effectually to combat with ſuch a powerful enemy, and particularly as they would learn experience from their late defeat. The Lacedemonians again promptly proffered their aſſiſtance, and the two experienced generals, Ageſilaus, the annual king of Sparta, and Chabrias, the Athenian, enliſted into the ſervice of Tachos. The character of the former general had long reſounded throughout all Aſia, and his renown was a common topic of converſation among the Egyptians. His appearance, however, diſappointed their eager expectation. Inſtead of finding him a prince of a majeſtic deportment, with a ſplendid and magnificent equipage, they ſaw nothing but an old man of a mean aſpect and diminutive body, dreſſed in a plain robe, and formed of the coarſeſt materials.*

* The character of a Spartan ſoldier was that of being inured to hardſhip, and accuſtomed to live ſparingly upon the coarſeſt food. Correſponding to that profeſſion, Ageſilaus and his officers, upon landing in Egypt, diſplayed the moſt rigid rules of their country, which not only ſurprized the Egyptian ſoldiers, but excited their contempt. This part of their character, however, was worthy of their imitation, and will hand down the fame of the Lacedemonians to the lateſt poſterity. When they were preſented, by the orders of Tachos, upon their arrival, with ſeveral exquiſite diſhes of the moſt refined luxury, Ageſilaus

The fame of Ageſilaus had rendered him haughty and imperious, and he had formed the expectation of becoming generaliſſimo of the Egyptian forces. The diſappointment of this circumſtance rendered him uneaſy, as he found he would have the mortification to ſerve under Tachos himſelf, a humiliation he had not been accuſtomed to, and which he could ill brook. The Spartan general, therefore, ſhewed a contemptuous regard to the plan of operations ſuggeſted by the Egyptian ſovereign, and, inſtead of liſtening to his inſtructions, thwarted every meaſure that he had taken. Tachos was confident of the untenable nature of the lower part of Egypt, and that if the capital was loſt, the whole country would fall an eaſy conqueſt to the arms of Perſia. He was conſcious that the late defeat of the Perſians aroſe more from miſmanagement and delay, than inability or want of courage; and that if they again got a footing in the country, it would ſpeedily be overrun. He, therefore, wiſhed to ſurprize the enemy, and attack them offenſively in their own country, before they had concentrated their forces, and were prepared for action. This would have ſeemed a manœuvre of generalſhip

and his officers declined the honour of the banquet. They prepared their own repaſt, which conſiſted of onions, black bread, and the meaneſt fare, and was ſpread upon a coarſe covering laid upon the graſs; and when they had finiſhed their ſlender repaſt, their ſlaves were ordered to receive the rich diſhes intended for themſelves.

A 2

worthy the genius of a Spartan to have accomplished. But the honour of Ageſilaus was injured, becauſe Tachos wiſhed to command the forces himſelf; and nothing that was propoſed with this idea, was accompanied by his concurrence.

Secret animoſity was now ſucceeded by open rebellion, and the abilities of Ageſilaus were now directed to the ruin of Tachos, his country's ally. Tachos had ſcarcely begun his march to attack the Perſians in Phœnicia, than a revolt was planned and executed by the Spartan general, and his own ſon was called to be the ſovereign of Egypt. The conduct of Ageſilaus, on this occaſion, was that of a conſpirator and a demagogue. When he could no longer ſerve his country with honour to himſelf, he ought to have declined the commiſſion which was delegated to him. But to violate the faith of nations, by nurturing inſurrection and rebellion in the country of an ally, was unworthy of a general of Lacedemon.* Tachos, deſerted by his friends, and ſuſpected by his ſoldiers,

* Ageſilaus covered ſo criminal a conduct with the veil of the public utility. But, ſays Plutarch, remove that deluſive blind, the moſt juſt and only true name which can be given to the action is, that of perfidy and treaſon. It is true, the Lacedemonians, making the GLORIOUS and the GOOD conſiſt principally in the ſervice of that country which they idolized, knew no other juſtice than what tended to the augmentation of the grandeur of Sparta, and the extending of its dominions. I am ſurprized ſo judicious an author as Xenophon ſhould endeavour to palliate a conduct of

was compelled to fly for refuge to the ſame country he intended to ſubdue. He arrived at Sidon, in Phœnicia, and was received with open arms by Artaxerxes; but we have no further information, after he removed to the Perſian court, what occurrences he met with, or whether he attempted to recover his former dignity.

NECTANEBUS II.

Egypt was now become an univerſal ſcene of anarchy and civil commotion. The friends of Tachos, who had diſapproved, indeed, of the meaſures he was taking, and, without examining the cauſe, had ſuſpected him as being acceſſary to the deſertion of their allies, now diſcovered their error. When Nectanebus was ſeated on the throne, they perceived the perfidy of Ageſilaus, and the capriciouſneſs of Spartan faith. To repair the loſs of Tachos, and their own folly, a relation of their baniſhed prince was invited from Mendes, to aſſume the diadem, and remove Nectanebus from his uſurped authority. This new competitor to the throne of Egypt, proved a dangerous rival to the young monarch. An hundred thouſand ſoldiers formed the number of his followers, and they were determined to ſupport their pretenſions at the point of the ſword.

this kind, by ſaying only, that Ageſilaus attached himſelf to that of the two kings who ſeemed the beſt affected to Sparta.

ROLLIN.

The ſituation of Nectanebus was now perilous and diſtreſſing; and to add to his apprehenſions the conduct of Ageſilaus, was unſatisfactory and ſuſpicious. Ageſilaus, indeed, gave his advice to Nectanebus, to attack this revolutionary body of men, before they were regularly trained and diſciplined to arms. But this opinion only tended to confirm him in the preſumption, that the advice was given with an intention of betraying him into a ſnare. This was a ſorry opinion of the man who had raiſed him to the throne; but it always happens among characters of baſe principles, that they are mutually ſuſpicious of each others profeſſions, and that one will ultimately circumvent the other for his own aggrandizement. The advice, however, was evidently ſalutary, and would, no doubt, have defeated their early ſchemes, as they were a body of men raiſed in haſte, and inexperienced in war.

By the delay of any meaſures to ſubvert this inſurrection, the Mendeſian hero became ſo powerful, that he defeated the regular troops of Nectanebus. This victory he followed up with ſo much energy, that he compelled the ſon of Tachos to take refuge in Memphis. The ſituation of Nectanebus was now ſo diſtreſſing, that he had no reſource left for his relief, but the aſſiſtance of Ageſilaus. He requeſted that general to attack the beſieging army, before their lines of circumvallation were formed; but the ſagacious Greek only waited for an opportunity wherein he might ſignalize himſelf, and defeat the beſiegers

with the greateſt effect. This delay was attributed to ſome treacherous policy which Ageſilaus might have in view. But, in that reſpect, the ſpeculations of Nectanebus were inaccurate. The experienced Greek obſerved his meaſures with ſo much preciſion, that he waited only the moment when their lines were about half formed to attack the whole force of the inſurgents, and to prevent the danger of being himſelf ſurrounded. The reſult ſhewed the extent of his judgment, for the beſieging army was completely defeated, and his rival competitor taken priſoner.—Such was the event of this civil war, which had already deluged Egypt with blood. The power of Nectanebus, by the aſſiſtance of the Spartan general, became thus more firmly eſtabliſhed, and the ſpirit of inſurrection was effectually cruſhed.

Soon after this event, the Perſian provinces almoſt univerſally revolted. The cauſe of this general defection is attributed, by hiſtorians, to the indolence and remiſſneſs of Artaxerxes. But the treachery and the tyranny of the principal inſtigaters to the revolt, brought this formidable conſpiracy to a ſpeedy termination of itſelf. The Perſian empire was thus on the brink of ruin, but its fate was ſuſpended by the iniquitous proceedings of the characters themſelves who aimed at its deſtruction. However, the cabals, the proſcriptions, and the cruelties of Ochus, the ſon of the Perſian king, accelerated its downfall; and the two ſucceſſors of that monarch, who were as weak as they were cruel, precipitated its overthrow.

After a reign of 43 years, Artaxerxes fell a victim to deſpondency and grief, occaſioned by the revolt of the provinces, and the cruelty of his ſon Ochus to his brothers. When this barbarous prince had ſecured himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the throne, he began to meditate the reduction of the refractory provinces. The richneſs and fertility of Egypt particularly attracted his attention; and as that kingdom had long aimed at independence, his views were more immediately directed to its ſubjugation, than any other province which had made ſimilar exertions to free itſelf of the Perſian yoke. He had no ſooner, however, begun his preparations againſt Egypt, than the Phœnicians, tired with the oppreſſions of the Perſians, revolted likewiſe from their ſubjection. This inſurrection happened very opportunely for Nectanebus, as he by that means ſecured the confederacy of the Phœnicians, and preſerved a boundary to his kingdom more able to withſtand the arms of Ochus than the moſt powerful body of Egyptian ſoldiers.* At firſt, this

* The country of Phœnicia occupied all that part of Syria from the eaſtern boundary of Egypt, along the ſea-coaſt, eaſtward, till it approached Alexandretta. Upon the northern ſide it was bounded by Paleſtine, and part of the deſarts of Arabia. The Phœnicians were particularly famous in maritime affairs, and were among the firſt commercial people in the ancient world. They eſtabliſhed ſeveral colonies along the Arabian gulph, and while they extended their trade to the Indies, and brought from thence the richeſt productions of the eaſt, they carried on an extenſive

alliance was ſucceſsful, and the Perſians were defeated, and expelled from every quarter of Phœnicia. But this gleam of ſucceſs was only tranſient and fallacious; the auxilliary Carians and Grecians which Ochus procured to his aſſiſtance, with the aid of Mentor, whom he detached from the defence of Sidon by means of treachery, turned the fate of the war ſo effectually, that one continued ſucceſſion of diſaſters followed after another.

In this perilous ſituation of the affairs of Egypt, Nectanebus was only able to collect a body of 100,000 ſoldiers, forty thouſand of whom were Lybians and Greeks.† All his ſucceſs depended upon the event

commerce with Europe. It is well known, that the productions of Britain were even familiar to them at that early period; and in the article Tin, immenſe quantities were annually exported by them from Cornwall. A.

† We cannot help obſerving the immenſe diſparity of numbers betwixt the army of Seſoſtris and that of Nectanebus. The army of the former conſiſted of 600,000 infantry, 24,000 cavalry, and 27,000 chariots of war. In the ſpace of eight or nine hundred years what an amazing change! An army of 100,000 men is only raiſed, when the country is endangered from a foreign invaſion, and 40,000 men of that army are foreigners.—The revolutions the country underwent, the havoc of war, and the ſcourge of tyranny under the Perſians, might have reduced the population to half the number; but ſuch an immenſe difference can certainly be attributed to nothing elſe but the averſion of the people to the tyranny of Nectanebus, or perhaps deſertion.—The

of Peluſium, and the fortreſſes along the coaſt, being able to withſtand a ſiege till the inundation. The army of Ochus conſiſted of 300,000 Grecian and Perſian ſoldiers, ſo that the vaſt ſuperiority of numbers in the invading army would have immediately decided the fate of Egypt, had it depended upon a general engagement. This immenſe army he divided into three detachments, for the purpoſe of attacking Egypt in three different directions. One diviſion under Ochus attacked Peluſium; another under Nicoſtratus entered one of the branches of the Nile, ſailed into the interior of the country, and gave battle to the principal body of troops that was commanded by the Grecian general Clinias; and the third diviſion,

nonreſiſtance of the people to an invading power never occurs, except when the people are perſuaded the government is not worth their protection. To the people under ſuch circumſtances may be well applied the aſs in the fable. "The overburdened aſs was pacing along the road at his uſual walk, when the report of the enemy being cloſe upon their heels alarmed his driver. The boiſterous ſon of the whip was laviſh of his oaths, and beat the poor animal unmercifully; but finding that he made no greater ſpeed by ſuch uſage, he is ſaid to have begged of the aſs to make greater expedition and get out of danger, as the enemy was approaching. The dull ſtupid animal, as he is called, however, happened to aſk his maſter if the enemy would force him to carry any greater burdens than he did then. To which his driver replied, that that was impoſſible. O then, ſays the aſs, it is immaterial how I move; as I find I cannot carry heavier burdens I may happen to be lightened a little." A.

under the traitor Mentor, landed upon the coaſts. That body of troops which was commanded by Nicoſtratus, defeated, with conſiderable ſlaughter, the army of Clinias; and, in a great meaſure, decided the ſucceſs of the invaſion. The army of Nectanebus was by no means well affected to their ſovereign, and the firſt news of a defeat induced them to abandon the paſſes without a conteſt, and take refuge in Memphis. The intelligence of the loſs of the firſt battle, and the precipitate retreat of Nectanebus having reached Peluſium, the Grecians who defended that city propoſed terms of capitulation to abandon Egypt, which were accepted. Thus every circumſtance portended a ſpeedy concluſion to the campaign, and as fortunate to Ochus as it was poſſible to expect. Nothing now remained to put a finiſhing hand to the war, but the reduction of the capital, whither Nectanebus had retreated with his handful of troops. But this event was ſoon accompliſhed, by means of a ſingular ſtratagem, which the policy of Mentor had recourſe to. The priſoners which he took in arms were ſet at liberty, contrary to the uſual practice of Perſian warfare, and it was told them that clemency and indemnity would be granted to all thoſe who ſubmitted to the power of Ochus. The news was ſoon circulated, and received univerſal credit. The ſtandard of Nectanebus was deſerted, and he loſt all hopes of being able to defend himſelf in Memphis. He, however, ſecured himſelf by flight, and ſucceeded

in carrying with him his treaſures and valuable effects into Ethiopia, after occupying the throne of Egypt about twelve years. Such was the concluſion of a reign that was commenced by uſurpation againſt a father, and the retribution was juſt.

It is related by Syncellus, that Nectanebus, after being raiſed to the crown by Ageſilaus, was, ſubſequent to that general's death, ſupported by the counſels and the valour of Diophantes, the Athenian, and Lamius, the Lacedemonian. Whilſt they had the command of the troops, his affairs were proſperous, and the Perſians were worſted in every attempt at the invaſion of Egypt. But being elated with his victories, he diſbanded part of the mercenary troops which were commanded by theſe brave generals. Upon that event taking place, a reverſe of fortune immediately ſucceeded; his troops deſerted, and he was ſoon after precipitated from the throne.

After the ſubjugation of Egypt to the arms of Ochus, their cities were diſmantled, their temples were pillaged, and he entruſted the government of the country to a minion of his court, called

PHERENDATES.

This man poſſeſſed a diſpoſition correſponding to the deſpotic character of his royal maſter. Actuated more with the rapacity of a robber, and the avarice of a tax gatherer, he ranſacked the coffers of the rich, and deprived the citizens of their property.

Their temples and ſacred manſions were violated, and even the perſons of their prieſts and principal men were ſacrificed as obſtacles either to his peace or his ambition.* Such a mode of government was ill calculated to allay former animoſity againſt the Perſians, or even ſecure their allegiance to the Empire.

Bagaos, an Egyptian eunuch, who was dignified with the confidence of the Perſian tyrant, avenged his country's wrongs in the death of Ochus. Thus was the murder of one tyrant perpetrated; but it was only to make room for the reign of another, as cruel and depraved as his predeceſſor. Bagaos, after ſucceſſively butchering the children of his ſovereign, raiſed a man called Codomanus, and whom he ennobled with the name of Darius, to the government of the Empire. By what means he eſcaped the vengeance of Ochus's friends, and avoided the poinard or the poiſoned cup, the general reward of enormous guilt and of treaſon, we are no where informed. Bagaos, however, continued to exerciſe an unlimited ſway over the mind of Darius during the exiſtence of the Perſian empire. Rebellion and diſcord, as formerly,

* Ælian obſerves, that Ochus was as lazy as he was cruel; and that the Egyptians, from the former character, had nicknamed him an aſs. Violently enraged at this general epithet, he vowed, by the moſt horrid imprecations, that he would make them ſenſible he was not an aſs but a lion; and from that circumſtance the cruelties which Pherendates exerciſed is ſaid to have originated. A.

occaſionally diſplayed themſelves throughout the provinces, but was ſtill ſmothered and kept in ſubordination. But the invaſion of a formidable power, which had long meditated the deſtruction of this unwieldy government, precipitated the downfall of Bagaos and his coadjutor Darius.

Before this remarkable occurrence, the Egyptians were ripe for revolt. During the long period, from the ſubjugation of Egypt under the Perſian yoke, to the time we are deſcribing, a ſpace of about 200 years, they had received numerous governors, each of whom excelled another in the perpetration of every ſpecies of tyranny and oppreſſion. From what ſource that extreme deſpotiſm had ariſen, is not in our power preciſely to determine. There always ſeemed a moſt inveterate antipathy between the Egyptians and the Perſians. This enmity aroſe, no doubt, not from a colliſion of national intereſts, interference of trade and other nameleſs cauſes of civil diſcord; but their deep rooted and religious animoſities. Of all other cauſes of diſcord, this is the moſt fierce, and has been the moſt fatal deluſion by which the miſeries of mankind have been accumulated. It extinguiſhes the moſt generous ſentiment in the human breaſt, and has filled every populous diſtrict in the world with hoſtility and death.

The Perſians worſhipped the ſun, which they conſidered as the reſidence of the Deity; and it was viewed as unworthy of the ſupreme Being, whoſe tem-

ple was the Univerſe, to have earthly temples built for his reſidence, or dedicated to his ſervice. The Egyptians, on the contrary, eſteemed every part of the creation as an emanation from the Firſt Cauſe, and that the virtues and attributes of the Deity were perſonated by the qualities of plants and animals. Such important diſtinctions naturally operated to widen the breach of hoſtility, and tended as a fatal blow to the peace and harmony of the two nations.* It is not ſurprizing, therefore, that the Egyptians, who bore the yoke with ſo much impatience, ſo frequently revolted. And however much the ſpirits of the people were broken by diſcomfiture and defeat during the frequent ſtruggles they made to regain their independence, ſtill their national courage and love of independence remained entire, and prompted them upon every opportunity, or freſh acceſſion of ſtrength, to renew the conteſt with the Perſians, and attempt to recover their wonted liberty.

After the relaxation from Perſian oppreſſion, which they had laterally experienced by the active exertions of the Grecian auxiliaries, they now felt the woeful contraſt, under Pherendates, the bloody deputy of an invading conqueror; one who conceived, that while

* As an additional proof of the intolerance of Perſian ſuperſtition, when Xerxes invaded Attica with his mighty hoſt, he ordered all the Grecian temples to be burned to the ground, ſaying, that all ſtructures intended to incloſe the Deity were impious and prophane.

A

he exerciſed his cruelties upon the Egyptians, he only inflicted a proper puniſhment on a revolted province. But the day of relief was faſt approaching; and the army of Alexander of Macedon had only to appear, when the Egyptians would hail him as their deliverer and protector.—Such was the diſtracted ſituation of the Egyptians, under the government of Pherendates, and which concluded the connections that ſubſiſted between that country and Perſia; but we ſhall reſerve our conſiderations upon this important æra of hiſtory till the enſuing chapter.



CHAP. V.

Review of the cauſes of the downfall of the Perſian empire, of which Egypt was a province; and Alexander's invaſion and conqueſt.—The changes which Egypt underwent by his government, to the time of his death.

THE Perſian empire was originally founded by the accompliſhed Cyrus, a man emphatically termed *great*, not only from his courage and his policy as a ſoldier, but from the extent of his underſtanding, and his moderation as a king. That Empire was extended by the arms of Darius Hyſtaſpes, and embraced the moſt valuable portion of Aſia, with the moſt fertile diviſion of Africa. The extent of the whole monarchy reached from the rivers Ganges and Indus, in the eaſt to Abyſſinia, (formerly called by the general name of Ethiopia), and the deſarts of Africa, in the weſt; and, from ſouth to north, it extended from the Indian ocean to the Archipelago and the Black ſea, all of which included the greateſt part of the world at that time known.

This unweildy government was groſsly hewn out by the wiſe and able Cyrus, but it poſſeſſed within itſelf the political ſeeds of its own deſtruction. The Perſians were originally a poor and warlike people; by theſe qualities, their virtues and their frugality, they accompliſhed the conqueſt of the indolent Aſia-

tics and the ſurrounding barbarians. The arms of Cambyſes and his ſucceſſor, added Egypt to their other conqueſts; but though they had ſtrength to acquire dominions, they had not wiſdom nor ability to preſerve them. With their conqueſts they imbibed the luxuries and vices of other nations, without copying or adopting any of their virtues. Even in time of peace, the uſual period of a great empire arriving at celebrity in the arts, they were uninfluenced by the blandiſhments of opulence, to cultivate any of the ſciences or improvements of other nations. Their treaſures were by this means laviſhed upon worthleſs objects; the gratification of their ſenſes unnerved them for any important enterprizes; and they thus gradually degenerated from their ancient ſimplicity to a ſtate of indolence and pride, the certain indication of political ruin.

When ſuch were the characteriſtics of the Perſian court, we muſt form but an indifferent opinion of the management of public affairs throughout the diſtant provinces. Incapacitated by voluptuouſneſs and idleneſs, the reigning prince was ſurrounded by paraſites and women, and the government of the empire was principally conducted by deputies and inferior officers. The command of the armies was intruſted to favourites, and frequently to foreigners; and the provinces were beſtowed upon courtiers and treacherous demagogues. The extreme remoteneſs of theſe provinces, and under the management of ſuch *ſatraps*, perpetually

embroiled the empire in war, and their avarice and ambition tended ultimately to alienate the affections of the people from their allegiance to the emperor of Perſia.

In ſuch a diſtracted ſituation was the whole empire of Perſia involved, when the army of Alexander appeared upon the frontiers, and paſſed the Granicus.—In order, however, to give a connected view of thoſe important events that changed the Perſian monarchy into the Macedonian empire, we muſt curſorily ſurvey the life and conduct of that extraordinary man, who was deſtined to change the face of the world.

Adjoining to Greece, and partly colonized from that country, aroſe a people, under the foſtering care of Philip, which ſtruck terror into the ſurrounding nations. Macedonia, the name of the country we allude to, was, before that period, ſimilar to the barbarous kingdoms of Thrace and Illyricum; or, for the more general reader, it may be nearly compared to ſome of the inland ſtates of Africa, deſcribed by the pens of Bruce, Brown, and Park. By the enterpriſing genius of a vigorous and comprehenſive mind, and from the ſage leſſons and example which he received from Epaminondas of Thebes, Philip introduced into Macedon the military tactics of the Spartans, the ſcientific knowledge of Athens, and the general wiſdom of Greece. To co-operate with his extenſive views, he invited men of talents and genius from every quarter of the world, and diſtinguiſhed

them in such a manner as to insure their esteem and their future regard. By the effect of stratagem and a cautious policy, and no doubt combined with a large portion of ambition, he got possession of several sea-ports and formidable garrisons; and partly by force, corruption, and negociation, he afterwards gained such an ascendancy in the Grecian states, that he was appointed generalissimo of the whole Grecian forces. —Having attained this formidable accession to his power, he now aimed at no less an object than the overthrow of the whole Persian empire.

For some time prior to this period, it had been agitated in several Grecian states, that the conquest of Persia would be an object of easy attainment.— Their own turbulence and mutual jealousy of each other's power, prevented this resolution from being carried into execution. Their ostensible motives in proposing such an extensive war, were considered as a proper retaliation for the invasion of Greece under Xerxes. It is more probable, however, that their principal objects in view, were those of ambition and plunder; as it is acknowledged by all historians, that the degeneracy of Greece at that period was so palpable, as to become proverbial in the courts of Asia and of Macedon.

Philip having now arrived at that pinnacle of power, so as to command union among the Grecians, quickly resolved upon this formidable expedition. But, however, in the midst of great preparations to accomplish

that event, he fell under the poinard of an aſſaſſin, in the forty-ſeventh year of his age, and twenty-fourth of his reign. His eldeſt ſon, Alexander, (a prince educated under the ſagacious and profound Ariſtotle,) immediately ſucceeded to the throne of Macedon, and the command of the Grecian confederacy.

The ſon of Philip was now only twenty years of age, but he had diſplayed ſuch extraordinary talents in the battle of Cheronea, and other engagements, that the Grecian ſtates, more through fear than affection, confirmed in the perſon of Alexander their former election of his father, as general of the united ſtates. This young hero, after being fully eſtabliſhed in power, now reſolved upon the conqueſt of Perſia. He collected together the united ſtrength of Greece, and prepared, with one vigorous exertion, to defeat the mighty oppoſition prepared againſt him on the banks of the Granicus.

It is related by Juſtin, that the Perſian army, at that important ſtation, amounted to ſix hundred thouſand ſtrong; but the relation of Diodorus ſeems conſiderably more probable. He ſtates one hundred thouſand to have been the Grecian eſtimate; and when it is conſidered that Alexander's army did not exceed half that number, the diſproportion was great, and the reſult in his favour ſeemed much more dubious. However, his intrepidity, and the heroiſm of the Grecian army, effectually defeated the Perſian

forces, and the greateſt part of Aſia Minor was ſpeedily overrun and conquered.

The nature of military affairs in ancient times was ſuch, that the defeat of one army was nearly concluſive with reſpect to the fate of that country where it was fought. But the empire of Perſia was ſo extenſive, that another army might be raiſed, and the fugitives rallied, in order to oppoſe the progreſs of Alexander. Darius, therefore, collected his ſcattered forces, and was determined to contend the different paſſes in the Straits of Cilicia. But the cowardice of the Perſians removed every obſtacle to his arms; they fled on his approach, and every city that he entered hailed him as their deliverer. Darius had, however, collected an army of 600,000 ſtrong, with which he again prepared to diſpute the empire with Alexander. This mighty army was drawn up before Iſſus, in ſo injudicious a manner, that every ſoldier in the Macedonian army expreſſed their wonder and aſtoniſhment. Their forces, which before ſtruck terror into the minds of the Grecian ſoldiers, were now treated with ridicule and contempt. They were elated with their injudicious movements, as by that means they were ſecure of victory. The event, indeed, ſhewed the propriety of their reaſoning, for defeat and diſaſter followed upon the firſt attack, and the victory of Alexander was compleat.

After the important battle of Iſſus, Alexander behaved with ſuch generous magnanimity to the con-

queted, that he gained the reſpect and affection of all claſſes of ſociety. Darius, after his defeat, precipitately fled acroſs the mountains of Amanus, nor ſtopped his flight, until he had reached the oppoſite banks of the deep and rapid Euphrates. Alexander, though ſecure of his adverſary had he been inclined, thought the ſcheme of reducing the maritime provinces that ſkirted the Mediterranean more likely to ſecure his conqueſts, than by penetrating into Aſia. He, by that means, judiciouſly foreſaw that the fleets of Perſia would be ſecured; whereas, by continuing his progreſs eaſtward, a formidable naval oppoſition would have been left in his rear, which might have harraſſed the ſtates of Greece, or intercepted his ſupplies. Alexander, therefore, was wiſely determined to ſecure Syria and Egypt, before any other object ſhould divert his attention.

The ſtrength of the Macedonian army was now directed to the conqueſt of Syria. Acadus, Marathus, and Sidon, ſubmitted without a ſtruggle to the arms of Alexander. But Tyre, though willing to acknowledge him as an ally, refuſed to ſubmit to either the Perſians or Macedonians in any other capacity. This warlike reſolution from a city of merchants aſtoniſhed even the haughty and intrepid conqueror. But he was not to be diverted from his purpoſe by the determination of a ſingle city. He, therefore, immediately beſieged this formidable bulwark of Phœnicia, and as he was ſtimulated by this open defiance to extraordi-

nary exertions, his remarkable intrepidity upon that occaſion is almoſt without a parallel.

The city of Tyre was at this period the firſt commercial city in the world. The purple ſhell fiſh found along their coaſt, gave them early poſſeſſion of that lucrative trade, the deſtination of which was principally to cloathe in gorgeous attire the eaſtern princes of antiquity. Their city was iſolated from the continent by nearly the ſpace of a mile, and was ſurrounded by a ſtrong wall, 100 feet in height, and 1,800 miles in circumference; and the waves of the ocean waſhed it all around. The peculiarity and ſafety of its ſituation, the capaciouſneſs of its harbours, and the enterprizing induſtry of the inhabitants, had rendered Tyre the richeſt commercial city in the world. Their union with the Carthaginians, who were expert in war, and being themſelves plentifully provided with a fleet, and abundance of military and naval ſtores, determined them to oppoſe the arms of Macedon.

Such was the city that Alexander was bent upon reducing to his ſubjection. The Macedonian ſoldiers were indefatiguably laborious in completing moles and ramparts to communicate from the continent to the city, whereby they might employ their battering engines with effect. The Tyrians repeatedly deſtroyed theſe mighty works, and perpetually galled the ſoldiers by darts and miſſile weapons from the walls. But Alexander, who directed every operation in per-

ſon, and whoſe bodily toils exceeded thoſe of the meaneſt ſoldier, upon the deſtruction of one ſcheme, had recourſe to another. His works were at length completed; the Tyrians experienced a defeat by ſea, and Alexander's army was reinforced by land. The perſevering iſlanders, though now reduced to an unequal combat, and hemmed completely within their walls, were ſtill not deſtitute of activity nor courage. They galled the troops of Alexander by continual ſhowers of ignited arrows; and hindered acceſs to the walls, by caſting down huge ſtones into the ſea. Again foiled by the perſevering ardour of Alexander, they now reſolved upon riſking their remaining naval ſtrength, in the deſtruction of their ſquadrons of ſhips and hulks with which the city was inveſted. For that purpoſe, they had covered the harbour mouth with ſails, the better to conceal their operations. When their armament was completed, they fixed the hour of attack at mid day, when the Greeks and Macedonians were uſually employed in private affairs, or in relaxing themſelves from the fatigues of the day. The wary Tyrians ſlowly and imperceptibly left their harbours; but, on a nearer approach to the enemy, they claſhed their oars, raiſed a ſhout, and made a deſperate onſet againſt the beſiegers. Several of Alexander's fleet were ſunk by the ſhock, and others were daſhed in pieces againſt the ſhore. But the conqueror himſelf, who had only a ſhort time be-

fore retired within his pavilion, was no ſooner appriz-ed of this reſolute ſally, than he, with remarkable preſence of mind, collected a formidable fleet, block-ed up the harbour, and intercepted their return. Such a remarkable tranſaction, and which none of the beſieged had the ſmalleſt conception of, alarmed both the city and the Tyrian fleet. The ſhips of Alexan-der, which had been on the brink of deſtruction, now in their turn became the aſſailants. The ſhips of their opponents were moſtly deſtroyed; the men, in-deed, principally eſcaped by ſwimming, but the iſſue of theſe operations decided the fate of Tyre; and after the moſt obſtinate reſiſtance of which almoſt an-cient hiſtory records, "the beſiegers diſplaying the ardor of enthuſiaſm, the beſieged the fury of deſpair," the city was at length taken by ſtorm.

Thus fell a city which was juſtly deemed the pride and glory of the ancient world. Amid the ſiege and carnage, eight thouſand of the Tyrians were ſlain, and, on its conqueſt, thirty thouſand were reduced to ſervitude. The principal magiſtrates, who had taken refuge in the temple of Tyrian Hercules, were alone ſaved by the clemency, or rather piety, of the con-queror; and after a ſiege of ſeven months, Alexander took poſſeſſion of Tyre. With reſpect to the impor-tance of that once flouriſhing city, ſcarcely any veſ-tige is now to be ſeen. Near where it once raiſed its lofty head, is the ſmall habitation for fiſhermen, ca-

led, in Turkey, *Sour*; but there is nothing left of its ancient greatneſs but ruins.*

After this important ſiege was concluded, Alexander prepared to take vengeance upon thoſe who had rendered the Tyrians any eſſential aſſiſtance. The Jews, in that reſpect, had ſupplied them with corn, and had now reaſon to fear a chaſtiſement from the hands of the conqueror. But a well-timed ſubmiſſion averted that deſtruction which they apprehended; and the clemency of Alexander removed the fear of puniſhment which they ſo much dreaded.

In his march towards Egypt, the city of Gaza, one formidable fortreſs, ſtill oppoſed his progreſs. This fortification was ſituated on the confines of the Arabian deſart, about two miles diſtant from the ſea, and was ſurrounded by deep marſhes, which rendered it inacceſſible on every ſide. However, theſe difficulties were ſpeedily removed by the genius of the Macedonian hero, and the city was taken by aſſault. It is, however, to be remarked, that every ſoldier ſtood deſperately to his poſt, and periſhed without loſing an inch of ground. Their wives and children were enſlaved, and Gaza was re-peopled by

† "I paſſed by the ſpot," ſays Mr Bruce, "where magnificent Tyre once raiſed her princely head. Alas! how changed! Where palaces once glittered with ſaphires and gold, now is the top of a naked rock, a place for poor ſqualid fiſhermen whereon to ſpread their nets." E.

foreigners, for the purpoſe of reſtraining the incurſions of the Arabs.

This obſtinate reſiſtance was, however, ſingularly contraſted by the ready ſubmiſſion of Egypt. Alexander no ſooner approached Peluſium, than he was received with open arms. The Perſians had previouſly abandoned the country, and he was therefore every where received in Egypt as their ſovereign, and as their deliverer. Such a reception by a people whoſe wiſdom and piety he had previouſly extolled, now excited his admiration and his gratitude. When he approached the capital, Memphis, he offered up a ſolemn ſacrifice, in thankſgiving to the gods, for his unexampled ſucceſs; and ſeveral feſtivals were held, in which gymnaſtic and muſical games were celebrated by Grecian artiſts. He from thence proceeded to different parts of the kingdom, where thoſe inſtitutions of which the Perſians had long deprived them were re-eſtabliſhed, and thoſe laws were reſpected which had been formerly violated by their oppreſſors.

The fire of Alexander's valour had now ſome time to cool; but the ardour of his mind was ſo far from being abated, that his genius daily expanded in making improvements throughout the whole of Egypt. Reflecting upon the deſtruction of Tyre, which had ſo long occupied the commerce of the world, he perceived at a glance the ſuperior advantages which would be derived from the ſeat of com-

merce being eſtabliſhed near one of the branches of the Nile. He, therefore, traced out his intended capital, oppoſite the iſle of Pharos, which he called by his name, and entruſted the building of it, according to his plan, to the able architect Dinocrates. The harbour, which he cauſed to be formed before Alexandria, was ſemicircular; and to ſecure the veſſels from the ſtorms of the Mediterranean, the piers on each ſide were ſo bent, like a bow, that they left only a ſmall ſpace on each ſide for veſſels to paſs between the main land and the iſland. On the center of the iſle of Pharos was built a lofty light-houſe, to direct the benighted ſailor to a place of ſafety; and a mole communicated from the centre of the city to the middle of the iſland, where wharfs, warehouſes, and every accommodation for merchants, were built for the reception of goods. The city itſelf was reared in the moſt magnificent ſtile of architecture, and adorned with palaces, temples, and baths; and, by the policy of Alexander, and his intercourſe with foreign nations, Alexandria, in the ſpace of twenty years, was diſtinguiſhed as the moſt eminent commercial city in the world.

During the abode of Alexander in Egypt, he was prompted to viſit the revered temple of Jupiter Ammon. This venerable ſhrine of ancient ſuperſtition was ſituated in the midſt of a deſart, ſurrounded by burning ſand. None but the moſt experienced guides dared to penetrate ſo far into its receſſes, and the at-

tempt of an army of Cambyſes to explore its extent, for the purpoſe of plundering this far-famed temple, met with a melancholy fate. Aware of the danger of the expedition, that circumſtance was alone ſufficient to ſtimulate the conqueror in his object. With a geographical exactneſs, he, however, purſued the ſafeſt route, and, after arriving at his deſtined goal, conſulted the oracle reſpecting the ſucceſs of his expedition. The reply, as was natural to be expected by a prieſt to a conqueror, was favourable; and after this journey to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, Alexander aſſumed the title of the ſon of that deity.*

After his return to Egypt from that religious pilgrimage, he prepared finally to ſettle the affairs of that country, and then to purſue his conqueſts eaſtward. According to the plan of Seſoſtris, he divided the kingdom into diſtricts, over each of which he appointed a military lieutenant, with each a certain portion of troops; but their powers were ſo reſtricted, that their orders were to proceed entirely from himſelf. In civil and religious inſtitutions, he left the Egyptians to be directed ſolely by their own councils, and inveſted Doloſpes, a native Egyptian, with the ſovereign executive power. Such acts of political

* The prieſt or prophet meant to addreſs Alexander by the affectionate title of child, or ſon; but not being ſufficiently acquainted with the Greek tongue, he ſaid ſon of Jupiter. On this wretched blunder were founded Alexander's pretenſions to divinity. PLUTARCH.

wiſdom, and of humanity, ſoon raiſed the depreſſed Egyptians, from a ſtate of miſery, to a ſituation of opulence and happineſs. The canal from the Nile to the Red Sea was profecuted with ardour, and nearly finiſhed; Alexandria was built in the midſt of a deſart; canals proceeded from the city to the body of the river; and commerce was revived, and carried to an unexampled pitch of proſperity and eminence.

Alexander, in his departure from Eygpt, carried the regret and the beſt wiſhes of the people. In his journey to the capital of Darius, he ſurveyed and regulated the goverment of thoſe countries which he had previouſly ſubjected to his power. After paſſing through Syria and Paleſtine, he croſſed the Euphrates, and marched onward to the Tigris without oppoſition. Darius, indeed, had already twice made overtures of peace; but the conqueror would liſten to no terms but unconditional ſubmiſſion, and to leave the reſt to his clemency. Such humiliating conditions were below the dignity of the Perſian monarch, and he therefore collected an army to make another exertion to ſave his ſinking power. In the wide extent of territory which was ſituated between the Caſpian and the Jaxartes, the abode of courage and barbarity, an army of ſoldiers was obtained which even exceeded any proportion of ſtrength he ever formerly brought into the field. This army is ſaid to have amounted to a million ſtrong, and covered the whole extent of the plains of Meſopatamia. Alexander, in

the mean time, had received conſiderable reinforcements from Greece, and though his army did not conſiſt of above one twentieth part of the Perſian forces, he attacked them with firmneſs and intrepidity, and defeated this mighty hoſt with immenſe ſlaughter.

The reſult of this important victory gave him poſſeſſion of the moſt wealthy and important provinces under the Perſian Empire, in which were contained the reſpective capitals of Babylon, Suſa, and Perſepolis. The ravages which he committed in the latter city, while fluſhed with victory, are one ſtain upon his renown, and will remain a proof, how weak the greateſt minds ſometimes appear, when elated with too much proſperity.

Darius, after this ſignal diſaſter, eſcaped by a precipitate and obſcure flight acroſs the Armenian mountains into Media. He there was joined by 1,500 Grecian mercenaries, and a few thouſand barbarians; but he was again alarmed by the rapid march of Alexander towards the frontiers, and he fled, after laying the country waſte as he went, into the province of Bactria. By the dreadful alternative of laying the intermediate country waſte, he wiſhed to interpoſe a deſart that might arreſt the career of Alexander. But even this rapid retreat was quickly followed up by the extraordinary marches of the Macedonians. To ſtop this purſuit, as was imagined, Beſſus, the governor of Bactria, treacherouſly murder-

ed his royal maſter, and aſſumed the diadem himſelf. However, the aſſaſſin received the puniſhment of his crime, by being in his turn betrayed by Spetamenes, one of his own officers; and ſuch is the natural abhorrence of man to enormous guilt of this deſcription, that this rebel's own head was ſent ſoon after to Alexander, by the ſoldiers under his command.

A few partial ſtruggles only ſucceeded to theſe tranſactions. The whole Perſian Empire was ſoon ſubjected to his dominion, and even the barbarous Scythians, that were never effectually ſubdued by any army, acknowledged his power and ſubmitted to his arms. But ſuch was the unwarrantable ambition which influenced the mind of Alexander, that he was not contented with what he had already conquered, ſo long as there exiſted a people he had not ſubdued. He therefore proceeded further eaſtward towards India, and conquered as he advanced. He beſieged and conquered cities which appeared impregnable, and encountered many hardſhips, dangers, and difficulties, which no man but he that was poſſeſſed of extraordinary fortitude and unbounded ambition could combat and ſurmount. After croſſing the rivers Indus and Hydaſpes, and penetrating to the moſt eaſtward part of India, he now reſolved to take a north-eaſterly direction and paſs the river Ganges. But the ſoldiers, who were now covered with wounds, and fatigued with con-

tinual warfare, oppoſed this favourite deſign of the Macedonian hero. Alexander, who had conquered empires, by the remonſtrances of his army was now obliged to yield to their ſolicitude, and return homewards. He at length arived at Babylon, the capital of his Perſian conqueſts, laden with ſpoils and honours.

In this extenſive city he meant to reſide, and for that purpoſe devoted his leiſure moments to embelliſh and improve his capital; to ameliorate and conſolidate his conqueſts. In this laudable purſuit he continued to exerciſe his political talents; in facilitating internal intercourſe throughout the provinces by canals, and opening new channels of commerce with diſtant nations. The fleets of Alexander were likewiſe employed in exploring unknown coaſts, and planting Grecian colonies in diſtant regions, for the purpoſe of civilizing the barbarous manners of foreign countries which he conquered. While employed in theſe extenſive projects, he was deprived of Hephæſtion, the deareſt friend of his heart. This ſevere loſs, he deplored with all that affectionate ſympathy which the moſt ardent love could conceive, and appeared inconſoleable for his beloved companion. He adopted different ſchemes and warlike expeditions to divert his ſorrow, but nothing could appeaſe his grief; and by indulging too freely in wine, with a view to conquer his melancholy, he contracted a fever which put a period to his life.

Such were the reign and the death of Alexander.

He died at the age of 33, and about 324 years before the Chriſtian æra. To detail his unexampled character in a few words, (in the language of Gillies) "He was of a low ſtature, and ſomewhat deformed; but the activity and elevation of his mind animated and ennobled his frame. By a life of continual labour, and by an early and habitual practice in the gymnaſtic exerciſes he had hardened his body againſt the impreſſions of cold and heat, hunger and thirſt, and prepared his robuſt conſtitution for bearing ſuch exertions of ſtrength and activity as have appeared incredible to the undiſciplined ſoftneſs of modern times. In generoſity and in proweſs he rivalled the greateſt heroes of antiquity; and in the race of glory, having finally outſtripped all competitors, became ambitious to ſurpaſs himſelf. His ſuperior ſkill in war gave uninterrupted ſucceſs to his arms; and his natural humanity, enlightened by the philoſophy of Greece, taught him to improve his conqueſts to the beſt intereſts of mankind. In his extenſive dominions, he built or founded not leſs than ſeventy cities, the ſituation of which being choſen with conſummate wiſdom, tended to facilitate communication, to promote commerce, and to diffuſe civility through the greateſt nations of the earth." With a boldneſs peculiar to himſelf, he undertook to change the face of the world, to enlighten barbarians, to ſoften ſervitude, and to tranſplant the improvements of Greece into an Aſiatic ſoil, where they were never

ſeen to flouriſh. In the conduct of his remote and dangerous wars, the great abilities of the general were conſpiciouſly diſtinguiſhed. His example taught the troops to deſpiſe the extremes of hunger, fatigue, cold and danger; neither rugged mountains, nor deep and rapid rivers, wounds nor ſickneſs, could intercept his progreſs or abate his activity; his courage expoſed him to difficulties, from which he was extricated by new efforts of courage, which in any other commander would have paſſed for temerity. Amidſt the hardſhips of a military life, obſtinate ſieges, bloody battles, and dear-bought victories, he ſtill reſpected the rights of mankind, and practiſed the mild virtues of humanity. The conquered nations enjoyed their ancient laws and privileges; the rigours of deſpotiſm were ſoftened, and arts and induſtry were encouraged.*

So ſoon as Alexander's death was known, a

* The nations conquered by Alexander might adopt the language of Themiſtocles, when, in conſequence of his baniſhment from Greece, he was raiſed to great wealth and honour in Aſia. "O my children! we ſhould have been undone, had we not been undone." In the ſame manner, thoſe nations, had they not been vanquiſhed by Alexander, had not been civilized; Egypt would not boaſt her Alexandria; Meſopotamia her Seleuca, &c. And again, Alexander taught marriage to the Hyrcanians, and agriculture to the Arachoſii. He taught the Sogdians to maintain, and not to kill their parents; the Perſians to reſpect, and not to marry their mothers; the Scythians to bury, and not to eat their dead. PLUTARCH.

general lamentation prevailed. Even this enemies dropt a tear of humanity to his memory, and the vanquished nations bewailed the loss of their sovereign, though their conqueror. The line of succession being undetermined by Alexander himself, during his lifetime, numerous claims were made to the crown immediately upon the news of his death. However, the generals who served under the conqueror adopted a mode of conduct, which, though it bore the shadow of a successor to rule the Macedonian empire, was in reality only a pretence of delay for each general to form a party for himself, and to trust his fortune, for an independent establishment, to his sword. The eldest son of Alexander, named Hercules, by the daughter of Darius, was no doubt the lineal descendant to his father's honours; but this natural claim was superceded by the appointment of his brother Aridæus with the child of Roxana, with which she was then pregnant, to be the joint heirs of the monarchy.

Such a whimsical determination afforded little hope for union or stability. Perdiccas, by whom this ridiculous succession was established, in virtue of being possessed of Alexander's seal, actually assumed the regency. The other generals, considering themselves on an equality with him, deigned not to act in an inferior capacity, but disputed the validity of his claim, and each raised and disciplined troops in the respective provinces they had in Alexander's lifetime been

appointed to command. Open ruptures ſpeedily ſucceeded to their jealouſy of each other; nor were they ever determined, till their mutual differences were appeaſed at the point of the ſword. A battle was fought at Iſſus, in Phrygia, which terminated in parcelling the empire into four diviſions. Ptolemy was confirmed in the poſſeſſion of Egypt; Seleucus in Upper Aſia; Macedon and Greece were given to Caſſander; and Thrace, with ſeveral provinces of Lower Aſia, were beſtowed upon Lyſimachus.

Thus was a mighty empire diſunited, which the military genius of one man had devoted his life to acquire. In the hiſtory of Alexander's ſucceſſors, nothing appears but a ſeries of crimes ariſing from inordinate ambition; ſcenes of jealouſy, perfidy, and treaſon, and an utter oblivion of ſentiments of probity and honour. How changed, from being the ſervants and officers of Alexander! Now violating every principle of gratitude and piety, and reſpect to the memory of their adored maſter. Men originally friends, natives of the ſame country, companions in the ſame dangers, and glorying in the ſame victories, we now behold conſpiring to tear in pieces that empire which they had concurred to form, and which they had ſealed with their blood. To add to the enormity of their guilt, the mother, the wives, the children, and the relations of Alexander, who became ſucceſſively their priſoners in different periods, were

doomed to perish under their sacrilegious hands. This gloomy picture admits of little alleviation to the sincere friends of mankind. It is painted in characters of blood, and we must draw a veil over this period of anarchy and discord. We now proceed, however, after this digression, to take under our review the history of Egypt under the race of the Ptolemies, a period which will present us with the characters of some men that adorned human nature, and were the benefactors of mankind.



CHAP. VI.

The reign of the Grecian Princes in Egypt, commencing with Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus, till the period when Egypt became a province of the Roman empire, on the death of Cleopatra.

WHEN the diſſolution of the Macedonian empire occurred, and the reſpective generals had partitioned it into ſo many provinces, Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus, from his virtues and his abilities, preſerved Egypt under his command. The ſeries of ambitious wars in which, after that event, theſe generals engaged, proved mutually deſtructive to each; but the judicious policy of Ptolemy preſerved his influence and his power unimpaired. When Perdiccas directed his arms againſt Egypt, with a view to annihilate the power of this young prince, his juſtice, his humanity, and, withal, the political wiſdom of his adminiſtration, were ſuch, that not only the native Egyptians flocked to his ſtandard, but even the army of the invader marched with reluctance againſt the man whoſe conduct they approved.

The popularity and reſpect in which the Egyptian ſovereign was held, proved fatal to the ambition and the views of Perdiccas. His ſoldiers no ſooner entered within the territories of Egypt, than they began to deſert the ſtandard of the invader. Perdiccas, nevertheleſs, raſhly perſiſted, with a diſcontented

army, to march forward, and try his fortune in the event of a battle. In this reſolution, he precipitately croſſed an unknown branch of the Nile, by which two thouſand of his army were drowned and devoured by crocodiles. This circumſtance accompliſhed his ruin. The army, previouſly diſſatisfied with their expedition, now ſeeing themſelves unneceſſarily expoſed to dangers, mutinied againſt their commander, and put a period to his life and that of his principal friends. The whole forces were now in confuſion, and the principal officers declared their attachment to the ſovereign of Egypt.

The news of Perdiccas' death had ſcarcely reached the ears of Ptolemy, when he made his appearance in the Macedonian camp. The troops were invited to his ſervice; and ſuch was their opinion of his merit, that they, without heſitation, immediately joined his ſtandard.

About this period, the cabals of the ſeveral generals throughout Aſia, in aiming for an acquiſition of territory, were ſuch, that no agreements, however ſacred; no treaties, however equitable, were reſpected. All their deciſions were terminated by an appeal to the ſword. Poſſeſſed, therefore, of this knowledge of the views of theſe competitors for power, he coaleſced with the ableſt generals then in the world, for the purpoſe of counteracting theſe aggrandizements. He ſent ſeveral armies into Aſia, to co-operate in theſe objects with Seleucus, Lyſimachus, and Caſſan-

der; and, as a ſecurity to his own territories, he diſpatched Nicanor with an army of land forces into Syria, while he himſelf ſailed with a formidable fleet to reduce the coaſts of Phœnicia to his ſubjection.—His ſucceſs in theſe operations might have inſpired the mind of Ptolemy with the ambition of his great predeceſſor Alexander: But it ſeems that his principal aim, in all his projects and purſuits, was only with the patriotic purpoſe of rendering Egypt ſecure.

After Ptolemy had gained his object, in reducing the coaſts, he joined Nicanor. This general had previouſly defeated Laomedon, and was univerſally received in all the cities of Syria without oppoſition.—However, when he approached Paleſtine, the Jews were prepared for reſiſtance. Ptolemy, therefore, with all his forces, marched to their principal fortified city, Jeruſalem, which he immediately beſieged. This people, whoſe hiſtory forms a conſpiquous figure in the annals of ancient times, had been ſubjected, along with the other ſtates of Aſia, to the dominion of Alexander. That great conqueror had ſo much conciliated their affection, that they were determined to adhere faithfully to the intereſts of Laomedon, the governor whom Alexander had deputed to rule over them. Under this circumſtance was the oppoſition of the Jews to the arms of Ptolemy founded. Their city was at that time fortified ſo ſtrongly, both by art and nature, that it would have withſtood a formidable ſiege; but their religious ſcruples of breaking the

ſabbath, gave Ptolemy a favourable opportunity, upon that day, of ſcaling the walls. No Jew even offered to defend himſelf upon this general aſſault, and their city was taken without danger or bloodſhed.

To the diſhonour of the Egyptian conqueror, who had now the Jews under his authority, he puniſhed them with undue ſeverity, for reſiſting his arms.—Such conduct may, perhaps, have an apology, in the barbarous morals of that age, and the general practice among the Aſiatics from the victorious to the conquered; but it was certainly unworthy of the ſucceſſor of Alexander to the throne of Egypt, and particularly as that man was a Grecian. However, Ptolemy afterwards ſaw the error of his cruelties, when he conſidered that the ſame people would have been faithful to himſelf, had he been Laomedon.—So much was he afterwards convinced of the ſteady fidelity of the Jews, that they were employed upon the moſt important ſtations of truſt throughout his dominions. Indeed his clemency and his political ſagacity gained ſo much in their eſteem, that their adherence to his intereſts became even ſtronger than to that of his predeceſſor.

When Ptolemy had ſecured his poſſeſſions in Paleſtine, Syria, and Phœnicia, he afterwards directed his attention to the reduction of Cyprus. This iſland, ſituated in the boſom of the Levant, nearly oppoſite to Aleppo, was of the utmoſt importance to a maritime power. Naturally abounding in wood, of which

Egypt was almoſt entirely diveſted, it afforded every neceſſary article for building fleets and ſupplying them with ſtores. Such an object was evidently ſo advantageous to Egypt, that they always endeavoured, in ancient times, to retain Cyprus as an ally or a colony. During the ſubjugation of Egypt to the Perſian empire, this iſland formed one of her ſtrongeſt naval bulwarks in the Mediterranean. It was natural, therefore, for Ptolemy to aim at the early poſſeſſion of Cyprus, amidſt the univerſal contention for empire then prevalent throughout Aſia. He ſucceeded in his object; and after properly ſecuring his conqueſt, by placing proper garriſons throughout the iſland, he returned to Egypt.

Such was the ſucceſsful termination of a campaign which had for its object the ſecurity and commercial intereſts of Egypt. The natives of Syria and Paleſtine were invited to Alexandria, the new capital of the world, and the ſailors of Phœnicia were deſtined to man the fleets of Egypt. Ptolemy conciliated the eſteem of all claſſes of his ſubjects, and followed the footſteps of Alexander in introducing thoſe cuſtoms and improvements, in civil and political ſociety, which cemented the diſtant provinces with the intereſts of the capital.

In theſe peaceful political arrangements, his career was however arreſted, about five years after this period, by a powerful invaſion, under Antigonus, the moſt reſtleſs and ambitious general of all thoſe who

followed the ſtandard of Alexander. His capital was at Babylon, and his empire was, at that time, the moſt extenſive in the world; yet he reſted uneaſy, ſo long as the power of Ptolemy reſembled his own, particularly at ſea. He therefore made an irruption into Syria and Phœnicia, for the purpoſe of diſpoſſeſſing Ptolemy of the ſea coaſts and ſeizing the fleets. He met, however, with a powerful oppoſition from the cities of Tyre, Joppa, and Gaza. Their garriſons, though feeble, were true to the intereſt of their ſovereign; and when Antigonus got poſſeſſion of the two latter, the ſhips, riches, and men, were ſafely conveyed to Egypt, and he only acquired, in theſe two conqueſts, the naked fortreſſes. The city of Tyre, which had been rebuilt ſince its reduction by Alexander, withſtood a formidable ſiege. However, Antigonus being in poſſeſſion of the other poſts in Phœnicia, made extraordinary exertions to build a formidable fleet, whereby he might oppoſe the maritime ſtrength of Egypt. For that purpoſe, the cedar and cypreſs trees of Mount Lebanon, which were of extraordinary height and beauty, were cut down, and conveyed to the ſea coaſts. Several thouſand men were employed in the conſtruction of a fleet; and, in the courſe of twelve months, by the aid of ſome ſhips from Rhodes and Cyprus, Antigonus was able to cope with the naval power of Ptolemy.

Tyre was now cloſely inveſted both by land and ſea, and the fleets of Egypt could no longer ſupply

their garrison with provisions. By their brave defence, they, however, obtained an honourable capitulation; and the inhabitants not only preserved their effects inviolate, but the garrison was permitted to return to Egypt with all its military stores. Such terms were unexampled in those days; but Andronicus, who commanded the siege, was transported with the idea of gaining a place of such strength, and he granted, therefore, every thing which the besieged demanded.

Thus was Ptolemy divested of his possessions in Syria, Phœnicia, and part of Cyprus; and in this period of disaster, Ophellas, his deputy governor in Lybia and Cyrene, formed an insurrection, and revolted from his authority. Such an iniquitous rebellion, prompted only by the reverses of fortune which Ptolemy had experienced, was, however, justly punished by the treachery of another as unprincipled as himself. Agathocles, king of Sicily, being at war with the Carthaginians, and hardly pressed, urgently solicited the aid of this usurper. The Sicilian prince assured Ophellas, that, after having subdued the Carthaginians, he would, in his turn, not only assist him in the subjugation of Egypt, but in the conquest of Africa. The ambitious Ophellas greedily accepted of these propositions, and immediately set sail to assist Agathocles, with his whole army; but he had scarcely arrived in Sicily, before he was betrayed and assassinated, and the army was retained in the service of this treacherous foreigner.

This insurrection in Lybia and Cyrene being thus terminated, Ptolemy resumed hostilities against his enemies in Syria and Phœnicia. In the interval that these domestic dissensions had subsisted, Cassander, the ally of Egypt, made a powerful diversion in the east, which required the principal forces of Antigonus to counteract. His army in Syria was therefore entrusted to his son Demetrius, and he marched in person to arrest the progress of Cassander's arms. Ptolemy embraced the favourable opportunity of a division of these forces to attack the army under Demetrius at Gaza; the result of which terminated in his entire defeat, and the recovery of Cyprus, Phœnicia, and Syria, from the power of Antigonus.

After this battle, which was exceedingly bloody, a circumstance occurred, which places the generous magnanimity of Ptolemy in a conspicuous point of view. In the retreat of Demetrius from Gaza, he precipitately abandoned his equipage, tents, furniture, friends, and domestics, and he arrived at Azotus with the remains of a mutilated army. Knowing that he could not retain possession of Syria, he requested permission of Ptolemy, before he departed from thence, to bury the dead of his army, which were left slain.—With this request the victorious prince not only complied, but returned him all his friends and domestics, who were his prisoners, and all his military stores; and the person who brought him the message was or-

dered to declare, "that men ought not to make war upon each other for plunder, but for glory."

This act of generosity, on the part of Ptolemy, affected the young mind of Demetrius in such a manner, that he was determined to return the obligation received from the hands of his enemy. Ptolemy, after his victory, returned to Egypt with about 8000 prisoners, and gave the command of the Syrian army to his lieutenant, Cilles. About a year after that battle was fought, Demetrius having recruited his forces, again renewed the war, and marched against the Egyptian army. He surprized the camp of Cilles, took 7,000 prisoners, with their general, and all their camp equipage and stores. The fortune of the war was now changed, and Syria and Phœnicia were again exposed to all the ravages of a victorious enemy.—Demetrius, not forgetful of the acts of kindness he formerly received from Ptolemy, now possessed the means of returning the favour, and he did not suffer the opportunity to escape. He liberated Cilles, with his friends, and returned the baggage which he had taken, accompanied with magnificent presents to their sovereign. Such generous contention in enemies affords relief to the sympathetic mind, in perusing the detail of battles and of human sufferings.

Antigonus had, at this period, been likewise victorious in the east, when the news of his son's successes reached him. He therefore immediately marched his army towards Syria, to secure those advantages

which that event opened to his view. Ptolemy had, in the mean time, marched an army from Egypt, to check the career of Demetrius; but the junction of thoſe forces under the father and ſon, were ſo much ſuperior, that he was induced to retire within his Egyptian frontiers, with the riches of the country and the principal part of the inhabitants, after diſmantling the fortifications of Syria and Phœnicia. Theſe provinces were, by this means, ſpeedily over-run by Antigonus, without the ſmalleſt oppoſition. The depopulated cities he repeopled by his ſubjects in Aſia, and divided part of his army among the garriſons.—By preſerving theſe provinces thus formidable againſt an attack from Ptolemy, he retained them in his poſſeſſion for the ſpace of ten years; but as his power was eſtabliſhed by coercion, whenever that power ceaſed to be formidable, the people threw off the yoke, and returned to their former allegiance.

Being thus a ſecond time diſpoſſeſſed of his poſſeſſions in Syria, Paleſtine, and Phœnicia, Ptolemy now devoted his attention to the defence and improvement of his own territories. Thoſe inhabitants who had abandoned their native countries to avoid the tyranny of Antigonus, ſettled in Egypt, under the mild government of Ptolemy. The city of Alexandria was deſtined for the reſidence of theſe emigrants, and as an encouragement worthy their exertion, extraordinary privileges and immunities were granted, in order to enable them to follow mercantile or com-

mercial purſuits. The report of ſuch advantages being granted to foreigners was ſoon propagated throughout the neighbouring countries, when Jews, Greeks, and Macedonians flocked to Egypt, and the country arrived at ſuch extreme population and wealth, as no former or ſubſequent period ever witneſſed.

The armies which Ptolemy likewiſe raiſed to cooperate with Seleucus, Lyſimachus, and Caſſander, in the eaſt, were extremely formidable, and had contended with Antigonus with a variety of ſucceſs. Several cities in Cilicia were razed; Pamphylia, Lycia, and ſome provinces of Aſia Minor, were invaded; in the Egean Sea, the iſle of Andros was reduced; and Sicyon, Corinth, with other cities in the Peleponeſus, were taken. Theſe advantages were, however, balanced by an unfortunate defeat at ſea, which Ptolemy experienced in perſon, and which led to the reduction of the iſland of Cyprus, where Menelaus the king's brother, and his own ſon, were taken priſoners. But theſe calamities were alleviated by the generoſity of his enemy, Demetrius. He liberated the ſon and brother of Ptolemy, and diſmiſſed his friends and domeſtics, with all their baggage, without a ranſom; and added this obſervation, "that he ſtill poſſeſſed a grateful ſenſe of the civilities which he received at Gaza."

The reſult of this important battle revived the hopes of Antigonus and his ſon. Their army was

increaſed by the priſoners which they took in Cyprus and from the fleet, and they even prepared to annihilate the power of Ptolemy, by invading Egypt. The army of Antigonus, elated with the victory obtained by Demetrius over Ptolemy, manifeſted their extraordinary joy by proclaiming them both kings. This new diſtinction, as it was only in name, having poſſeſſed all the real power which they could previouſly obtain, was quickly followed by the ſubjects of Ptolemy in Egypt, as a proof of affection to their prince, notwithſtanding his late defeat. Lyſimachus and Seleucus followed their example, and were afterwards always dignified with the title of kings: But the modeſt Caſſander, wiſhing rather to be good than great, continued ſtill to preſerve his uſual name.

The dominions of Antigonus were conſiderably abridged in the eaſt, by the growing power of Seleucus; but he was now collecting an army of 100,000 ſtrong, with the avowed object of increaſing his territories in the weſt, by annexing Egypt to his conqueſts. For that purpoſe, a fleet was collected at Gaza by Demetrius, with a view of making a deſcent in one of the mouths of the Nile, while Antigonus prepared to paſs the deſarts, and penetrate into Egypt by land. In theſe movements, however, they were both effectually defeated. The fleet of Demetrius was incapable of making a deſcent, owing to the ſtrength of the fortreſſes along the coaſt; and in hovering before the ports of Egypt, many of the ſhips deſerted, and others

were diſperſed and loſt by violent ſtorms. The army of Antigonus met with even more diſaſters than the fleet of Demetrius: Ptolemy had arranged his poſts ſo judiciouſly upon the frontiers, that the army found it impoſſible to croſs the firſt branch of the Nile. To add to the other misfortunes of Antigonus, his camp was viſited by diſeaſe, the ſoldiers daily deſerted his ſtandard, and enliſted under the banners of Ptolemy.

Thus were the mighty preparations of Antigonus for the conqueſt of Egypt retaliated upon himſelf.—After having experienced a ſeries of loſſes, more numerous and more diſtreſſing than could have been ſuſtained in a precipitate defeat, he was compelled to retreat to Syria in an abrupt and ſhameful flight.*—The gratitude of Ptolemy for his deliverance from ſuch imminent danger, was exerciſed in a ſolemn ſacrifice to the gods; and a meſſenger was diſpatched to inform Lyſimachus, Caſſander, and Seleucus, reſpecting the reſult of the campaign, and to renew their co-operations againſt the common enemy.

After the failure of this expedition, Antigonus collected a naval force, and diſpatched his ſon Demetrius to reduce the iſland of Rhodes. That iſland, famous

* We cannot help drawing a parallel betwixt the retreat of Antigonus from Egypt, and that of Buonaparte from Acre, in Syria. Both events were alike diſtreſſing, when, in all appearance, their ſucceſs was extremely probable; and a compliment is deſerved by Ptolemy as well as by Sir Sydney Smith. A.

for its fertility, and the ſafety of its harbours and roads, had become a powerful ſtate principally from its commerce. Their friendſhip was courted by all the ſurrounding nations; but they conſulted their happineſs and their proſperity, by preſerving a determined neutrality with reſpect to all the belligerent powers. When Antigonus, therefore, was determined to invade the iſland of Cyprus, he requeſted ſuccours from the Rhodians; but, being deſirous to offend no nation, they refuſed granting the aſſiſtance required. The pretended object of this tyrant was to puniſh them for their refuſal of his demand; but it is more probable that their wealth was what he wiſhed to acquire.

The remarkable firmneſs and intrepidity of the Rhodians, however, defeated every ſcheme which Demetrius exerted for their deſtruction. Ptolemy ſent them effectual ſuccours, both in men and proviſions, to baffle the attacks of the beſiegers; and, after the port and city were inveſted for twelve months; after ſeveral breaches had been opened in the walls; and after repeated aſſaults had been made, and as repeatedly repulſed, Demetrius was compelled to raiſe the ſiege and return to Syria. The inhabitants, from a principle of gratitude to Ptolemy, conſecrated a grove; before which was erected a ſpacious portico, denominated *Ptolemæon*, and dignified him with the appellation of Soter, thereby implying the Saviour of their country.

The brave defence of the Rhodians convinced Demetrius of his inability to reduce the city, notwithstanding his great talents in the art of war. But he made a precipitate concluſion to the ſiege, in conſequence of the progreſs of Caſſander and the allied armies in Greece. The whole Peleponeſus was almoſt reduced by their arms, and Caſſander was at that time cloſely preſſing the city of Athens with a ſiege. Demetrius, therefore, immediately ſet ſail with a fleet of 300 ſhips, which opportunely arrived, not only to ſave the ſinking glory of Greece from being ſacked, but to defeat the army of Caſſander. This latter general was compelled, from the ſuperiority of Demetrius's army, to abandon the whole territory of Attica; and he was only able to make a ſtand at Thermopylæ, by the ſacrifice of ſix thouſand of his army.

Fluſhed with this gleam of ſucceſs to his arms, after having been ſo often foiled, both in Egypt and Rhodes, Demetrius ſucceſſively reduced Sicyone, Corinth, and other cities of Greece, which Ptolemy had previouſly conquered. His return to Athens was on theſe accounts celebrated in the moſt fulſome adulation, and honours were heaped upon him that were due only to the deity. At the feſtival of Juno, in Argos, he was proclaimed by the people, General of the Greeks, as Philip and Alexander had been before; and the flatteries were laviſhed ſo profuſely upon the

ſucceſs of his arms, that he even imagined himſelf ſuperior to both theſe princes.

Being now declared commander of the Grecian forces, Demetrius was bent upon exerciſing this acceſſion to his power, by following the footſteps of Alexander. Antigonus's father, the principal ſource of every ambitious plan, was now ſo infirm, owing to his corpulency and his age, that Demetrius had the principal management of the affairs of the empire. Caſſander being dangerouſly preſſed by the arms of Demetrius; and Seleucus, Lyſimachus, and Ptolemy, being perfectly aware of the project of Antigonus uſurping the whole empire to himſelf, renewed their former alliance, to repreſs ſuch an ambitious deſign. Their co-operations, indeed, tended effectually to reduce the power of Antigonus in Aſia; and while the latter left Syria to ſupport the army of Demetrius, Ptolemy improved his opportunity of recovering Syria, Phenicia, and Paleſtine, from his power.

Such was the ſituation of Antigonus and his ſon at this important juncture, that all their fortune and their power depended on the event of a battle. The armies of the confederated princes, and their great antagoniſt, met in Phrygia, and a battle was fought near Iſſus, which determined the fortune of the reſpective parties. The arms of the allies were victorious, and the defeat of their enemy was complete. Antigonus was ſlain, and his ſon, Demetrius, fled to Epheſus with 5,000 foot and 4,000 cavalry, the mu-

tilated remains of a well-appointed army of near 80,000 ſtrong. The empire of Alexander, which had been previouſly diſputed, was now deliberately divided into four kingdoms by the four confederated generals; and Ptolemy remained in quiet poſſeſſion of Egypt, Lybia, Arabia, Syria, Phœnicia, and Paleſtine.

The ſtates of Greece were now the only aſylum left for the unfortunate Demetrius. His poſſeſſions in Aſia ſucceſſively revolted, or were conquered by Seleucus and Lyſimachus. Tyre and Sidon, however, continued for ſome time occupied by garriſons from his army. But even theſe cities, and the important iſland of Cyprus, at length ſubmitted to the arms of Ptolemy. From this period the affairs of the world aſſumed a more pacific aſpect, and the reſpective princes cultivated the internal happineſs of their country. Misfortune ſtill awaited the ambitious projects of Demetrius; and in the attempt to retrieve his fortune and his fame, he was taken priſoner in Syria, and retained as a captive, till he died, from inactivity and an intemperate life, at the age of fifty-four.

About this period, after Ptolemy had accompliſhed the principal aim of his reign, that of rendering Egypt ſecure from the attacks of ambitious men, he prepared to reſign his crown into the hands of one of his ſons. He was now advanced to the age of 82, and had reigned 39 years in Egypt, with the reputa-

tion of a wise and able sovereign. By his prudence and magnanimity he had preserved his country from the calamities of war, and had brought Egypt to an unexampled pitch of splendour and riches. As he had several sons who might claim an equal title to the throne, he wished to avoid the calamity of embroiling the country in war after his death, by appointing a successor eminent for his wisdom and his abilities, and one who might pursue a similar conduct with himself. This man he concluded to be Ptolemy Philadelphus, a prudent and apparently a benevolent prince. The coronation was consequently celebrated with all the magnificence of eastern grandeur, and Philadelphus was installed into the sovereignty of Egypt at the age of twenty-five.

With respect to the character of Ptolemy *Soter*, the first successor to Alexander on the throne of Egypt, he was a prince of the most liberal disposition, and who loved and cultivated polite literature in all its branches. He wrote the life of Alexander; which, for purity and elegance of diction, was esteemed equal to any production of Plutarch. To our regret, it has perished amid the destruction of literature at Alexandria, and is now only known to us by the remarks and observations of contemporary authors.—In order to cultivate the sciences, he founded an academy at Alexandria, called the Musæum, and invited learned men, from all nations, to pursue, in

his capital, their philoſophic ſtudies.* To promote the utility of this valuable inſtitution, the books of all languages, that poſſeſſed any merit, were collated, copied, and depoſited in the Muſæum; and the moſt intereſting productions of foreign nations were tranſlated into Greek, the principal language of polite literature, which, in the reign of the Ptolemies, was generally underſtood in Egypt.

This foundation for the ſciences attracted the attention of philoſophers in all nations. It ſpeedily gave riſe to ſeveral ſchools of philoſophy, and became the center of information to all ſcientific men. This circumſtance alone tended to increaſe the number of books and the value of the Muſæum. At the concluſion of Ptolemy Philadelphus's reign, one hundred thouſand volumes enriched the library; and the ſucceeding princes of the Ptolemean line, following the glorious example of their predeceſſors, enlarged the ſtock of literature ſo much, that Alexandria ultimately contained a collection which conſiſted of 700,000 volumes.

The firſt foundation of a Muſæum raiſed by Ptolemy Soter, was built near the royal palace, and denominated *Bruchion*; but when their collection of books was augmented to 400,000 volumes, the ſtructure

* This Muſæum was the firſt Philoſophical Society ever inſtituted in the world; and upon a ſimilar plan of mental improvement have thoſe Royal Societies of London and Paris been founded. A.

was found too ſmall, and they then began to depoſit their additional volumes in a wing of the temple of Serapis. This famous temple, according to Ammianus, was built in the reign of Ptolemy Soter, and was eſteemed the moſt magnificent and beautiful ſtructure then in the world.* The library, which was in a portion of this elegant building, excelled the other, not in the number, but in the value of the books it contained. Being intended as a ſupplement to the former, it very appropriately received the appellation of its Daughter. But, in the courſe of a few reigns, the books increaſed to the aſtoniſhing number of 300,000 volumes; ſo that it promiſed ſoon to rival, if not excel, the former. However, the civil commotions introduced into the country during the time of Cæſar, effectually removed this literary competition. The library of Bruchion, with its 400,000 volumes, was conſumed by fire, during the hoſtilities between the Egyptians and the Romans.

The library of Serapion ſtill ſurvived, without having ſuſtained any injury. The labours of the learned were afterwards directed to repair the loſs of this conflagration; and ſuch was their aſſiduity, that the new library became more conſiderable than the firſt.—Cleopatra, with all her gallantries, poſſeſſed a taſte for literature; and ſhe added the library of Perga-

* For a deſcription of the worſhip peculiar to this temple, ſee page 30 of this volume.

mus, which ſhe received from Antony, conſiſting of 200,000 volumes, to the Serapion Muſæum. During the revolutions of the Roman empire, this library was frequently expoſed to the fury of the reſpective combatants, and was ſometimes ranſacked of its contents: but the books were afterwards moſtly reſtored, and theſe partial loſſes were always retrieved. It continued indeed in a flouriſhing condition till the ſeventh century of the Chriſtian æra, when the deſtructive arms of the Saracens invaded Egypt. At that dreadful period, this library experienced a ſimilar fate with its parent: but we ſhall reſerve our obſervations upon this misfortune to ſociety, till we arrive at that period of hiſtory.

When the library of Alexandria was firſt founded by Ptolemy Soter, the ſuperintendency of it was committed to Demetrius Phaleurus, the wiſe and able governor of Athens, under the deputation of Caſſander. That man had been reared in the ſchool of adverſity and philoſophy; and ſo juſt and humane was his adminiſtration, that the citizens of Athens erected 360 ſtatues to his memory, in alluſion to his equity and juſtice every day of the year.† When Demetrius, the ſon of Antigonus, took the city of Athens by ſtratagem, ſo fluctuating was the popularity of the people, that they not only beſtowed the

† It is to be obſerved, that, both in Egypt and Greece, they calculated, at that time, only 360 days in the year. A.

moſt extravagant compliments on their invader, but decreed the baniſhment of Demetrius Phaleurus, and afterwards his death. Such criminal ingratitude affected his mind extremely; but when he heard that they had thrown down the ſtatues that were raiſed as monuments of his great ſervices, he exclaimed, "O Athenians! the ſtatues may be thrown down which you dedicated to my honour, but it will not be in your power to deſtroy that virtue by which thoſe ſtatues were merited."*

This benevolent character had previouſly withdrawn himſelf from Athens, and retired to Thebes; from whence he was invited into Egypt, by the judicious policy of Ptolemy Soter. The plan of the Muſæum, which Ptolemy had ſuggeſted, was warmly encouraged by Demetrius Phaleurus; and, among the firſt preſents which the inſtitution received, were

* So fluctuating are the determinations of Democracy, or the government of a mob, that they ever have deſtroyed the beſt of their citizens, from the audacious and profligate accuſations of ambitious demagogues. In the inſtance of Demetrius Phæleurus, this obſervation is authenticated; but in ancient, as well as modern times, almoſt every page of the hiſtory of Republican Democratic governments teems. The inſtances, in ancient hiſtory, of Socrates, Themiſtocles, and Demoſthenes, in Greece; of Caius Gracchus, Apuleius, and Cicero, in Rome; and of La Fayette, Condorcet, and Briſſot, in modern France; are ſuch as muſt leave an indelible ſtain upon the character of ſuch a capricious mode of government. A.

ſeveral treatiſes on government, and the duties of civil life, which he compoſed during his exile from Athens. Diſſertations upon theſe ſubjects are related by Plutarch to have been extremely acceptable to the Egyptian ſovereign, as they informed him of his duty, both in a public and private capacity; and were the beſt courtiers he could bequeath his ſucceſſor to the throne.

About the year 283 before the Chriſtian æra, Ptolemy Soter, the wiſe and able ſucceſſor of Alexander on the Egyptian throne, finiſhed his terreſtrial career. He died at the age of 84, two years after the reſignation of his crown into the hands of his ſon. He was, in every reſpect, the moſt accompliſhed prince of the age in which he lived, and left behind him ſuch examples of prudence, juſtice, and clemency, as very few of his ſucceſſors were careful to imitate.—During his long reign, he followed the wiſe and judicious policy of Alexander, and brought Egypt to ſuch an unparalleled pitch of proſperity, that it was rendered ſuperior to any other diviſion of the Macedonian empire. He ſecured the frontiers of the country from invaſion; and while war was raging in every corner of the world, his country enjoyed an uninterrupted ſtate of peace and tranquillity.—Though elevated to the throne of Egypt, from being an officer in Alexander's ſervice, he retained the ſame ſimplicity of manners, and the ſame averſion from oſtentatious pomp, which he loved and cheriſh-

ed in private life. He was acceſſible to all his ſubjects, to a degree of familiarity; and ſo ſolicitous was he in conſulting the happineſs and proſperity of the country alone, that when his friends endeavoured, at one time, to induce him to aſſume an air of opulence and grandeur becoming the dignity of an Egyptian monarch, he made this memorable reply, "That the true grandeur of a ſovereign conſiſted, in enriching others, not himſelf."

PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS.

When this prince aſcended the throne, he was 25 years of age. At his inauguration, he introduced himſelf to the notice of his ſubjects by a magnificent feſtival, as ſplendid as it was vain. The ſolemnity conſiſted of a pompous diſplay of opulence without taſte, and grandeur without any ſhare of elegance or propriety. Troops of ſoldiers, with men dreſſed like ſatyrs, and other like divinities, were grouped and ranged in ſucceſſion; youths, virgins, poets, comedians, and muſicians, accompanied and filled up the proceſſion; and a profuſion of chariots, altars, and tripods, were the principal ornaments of the cavalcade. They were all moſt profuſely adorned with gold and ſilver dreſſes. The luxury and ſplendour indeed of the whole were unexampled; but while it afforded a certain indication of Philadelphus's diſpo-

fition for grandeur and parade, it likewiſe proved the remarkable proſperity and wealth of Egypt.*

The firſt year of Ptolemy the ſecond's reign was remarkable for nothing but the conſtruction of the famous watch tower in the iſle of Pharos, intended as a guide for ſhips upon the coaſt. This building was an immenſe ſquare ſtructure, formed of white marble, at the top of which a fire was conſtantly kept burning. The architect who reared this extraordinary edifice (eſteemed among the ancients little inferior to one of the pyramids) was Soſtratus of Cnidus. Deſirous of perpetuating his own name to poſterity, inſtead of Ptolemy Philadelphus, at whoſe order and expence it was conſtructed, he inſcribed upon the marble, unknown to his employer, a motto to the following purport; "Soſtratus the Cnydian, ſon of Dexiphanes, dedicates this to the Protecting Deities, for the ſervice of ſailors." Above this inſcription a ſimilar motto was engroſſed with Ptolemy's name, but only in mortar; which in length of time decayed,

* As an inſtance of the remarkable profuſion of riches diſplayed upon the inauguration of Philadelphus, there were 43 crowns of gold, which were deſtined to be the prizes of thoſe who excelled in the games and public combats after this pompous ſolemnity; 20 of which were to be given by the king, and 23 by Berenice his queen. It afterwards appeared by the regiſters of the palace, that thoſe of the queen were valued at 2230 talents 50 minae, a ſum which amounts in Engliſh currency to 334,400l.

A

and discovered the name of the architect. This ungenerous artifice, though it might flatter his vanity as a mechanic, tended also to perpetuate his meanness to future ages.

In the second year of the reign of Philadelphus, his father died. This circumstance tended to shew an ingrateful trait in the character of the young monarch. We have observed how the unfortunate Demetrius Phaleurus came to the Egyptian court. While he superintended the management of the Alexandrian museum, he had gained the king's confidence so much, that he became his intimate friend and his principal counsellor. In this capacity he had dissuaded Ptolemy Soter from abdicating his crown, under the persuasion that in declining the power of government he should lose his influence in the state; but finding him determined upon that important subject, he therefore wished to direct him in his choice with respect to a successior. In the discharge of this duty, he advised him to direct his election in the order prescribed by nature, and to prefer his eldest son to the throne. The influence of the beautiful Berenice, however, defeated the prudent and equitable advice of his friend, and young Ptolemy was preferred before his elder brother, Ceraunus. When Philadelphus, therefore, had now no father to over-rule his conduct, he thought proper to shew his resentment to the person who had endeavoured to supplant him in his present dignified station. He ordered the phi-

loſopher Demetrius to be ſeized and impriſoned. The ſum of this man's calamities was now complete. Foiled in all his endeavours to do juſtly, and actuated from the beſt of motives to diſcharge his duty to his late ſovereign, he was now to be puniſhed with perpetual impriſonment by the ſon. He was, however, ſoon relieved from his load of troubles, for he was poiſoned by the bite of a ſcorpion, of which he died. Such was the death of one of the worthieſt characters of antiquity, who merited a better fate.

At this period the empire of Aſia was again embroiled in war. Seleucus and Lyſimachus, after the death of Ptolemy, were the only ſurviving generals who followed the ſtandard of Alexander. Theſe men, actuated principally from ambition, were uneaſy till they accelerated each other's deſtruction; and they ſucceſſively fell a prey to the ſword of war and the poniard of the aſſaſſin. In theſe diſaſtrous events, Ceraunus, the brother of Ptolemy Philadelphus, had a principal ſhare; and the horrid cruelties which he perpetrated upon theſe occaſions, juſtify the principle upon which the ſagacious Ptolemy Soter founded his choice of a ſucceſſor to the throne of Egypt.

That prince, after his departure from Egypt, paid a viſit to the court of Lyſimachus, to whom one of his ſiſters was married, and another of them to his ſon. Such a family connexion afforded him ſufficient ſcope for exerciſing his political talents, in providing for himſelf and ſerving his friend. But he had no

ſooner gained an influence in the cabals of ſtate, than he devoted his ſole attention to the ruin of all thoſe who might retard him in the gratification of his unbounded ambition. The ſon of Lyſimachus was repreſented as conſpiring againſt his father's life; and he was, on that ſuſpicion, dragged to priſon and put to death. The horror of ſuch a crime, as the father putting to death his own ſon, only upon ſuſpicion, occaſioned a partial revolt, of which Ceraunus was the principal inſtigator. Seleucus eſpouſed the cauſe of the diſaffected, and the ruin of Lyſimachus was accompliſhed. The conqueror, ſeven months after the defeat of his only ſurviving antagoniſt, now paid a viſit to Macedonia, his native country, for the purpoſe of ſpending the remainder of his days. But the villainous ingratitude of Ceraunus prevented this hope being fulfilled. Inſenſible to all the favours he had received from Seleucus, he baſely became an aſſaſſin, in order to uſurp his power.

Having now removed every principal obſtacle to his views, Ceraunus aſcended the throne of Macedonia ſupported by the principal friends of Lyſimachus. —His cruelties, however, ſoon changed the reſpect which they at firſt entertained, into deteſtation. He married the widow of Lyſimachus, who was his own ſiſter; and afterwards cauſed her to be butchered. Her children, the ſons of the late ſovereign, likewiſe experienced a ſimilar fate. But the avenging hand of heaven overtook him in his career of iniquity. An

irruption of the Gauls into Greece, which he went in perſon to check, accompliſhed his ruin; and in an important battle, of which he was ſecure of victory, he fell, covered with wounds, amidſt thouſands of his ſoldiers; and his head, by way of deriſion for his empty menaces, was fixed upon a lance, and diſplayed to the priſoners of his army.

Theſe diſtractions in the eaſt, however they might affect the intereſts or the feelings of Ptolemy Philadelphus, did not induce him to participate in any ambitious ſcheme, or depart from the pacific ſyſtem which his father had purſued. On the contrary, he devoted his attention to the intereſts of his country, and cultivated literature and the ſciences, the principal means of rendering his name famous to poſterity. He beſtowed peculiar attention to the improvement of the Alexandrian library, and rewarded men of talents who preſented him with copies of their works. The Jews likewiſe, who were the ſubjects of Egypt, experienced the effects of his munificence. Thoſe of that nation who were enſlaved, in conſequence of their oppoſition to Ptolemy Soter, in the ſiege of Jeruſalem, were emancipated; and, in addition to their acceſſion of liberty, they received a preſent of twenty drachmas a-piece,* and a proportionate ſum

* The value of this ſum amounts to 10l. Engliſh currency; a ſum, though ſmall, conſiderably enhanced, when the value of money at that time is conſidered. A.

to their wives and families. Philadelphus had, at that time, in contemplation, the acquiſition of the hiſtory and laws of the Jews to his Muſæum. This act of generoſity, therefore, effectually ſecured their eſteem; and when he requeſted a copy of the Moſaic hiſtory from their pontiff Eleazar, he received a moſt ſplendid one, written in letters of gold. From that edition a tranſlation was made, by ſeventy-two of the moſt learned Jews, into Greek; from whence that Bible received the title of the Septuagint verſion, and is eſteemed by the learned the moſt correct copy extant.

We are now come to an important æra of the Egyptian hiſtory, and which ultimately tended to render that country a province of the Roman empire. —The quarrels which the city of Tarentum, in the ſouth of Italy, had with the Romans, brought Pyrrhus, a young and ambitious general of Epirus, to command their army. His valour and intrepidity alone enabled him to contend with the Romans with a diverſity of fortune; but he was at length compelled to retire from Italy, and to return ignominiouſly to his native country. The reputation which the Romans acquired in that remarkable war, and which was maintained with diſtinguiſhed obſtinacy on both ſides for ſix years, rendered them peculiarly famous. Ptolemy Philadelphus, perhaps glad of the humiliating ſituation to which the enterprizing Pyrrhus was reduced, as he was ſo near and ſo dangerous an

enemy to himſelf, ſent ambaſſadors to ſolicit the friendſhip of the Romans. That people, grateful for the reſpect paid them by ſo great a king, not only accepted of the proffered friendſhip with joy; but, in order to cultivate a ſtrict alliance, diſpatched five ambaſſadors the following year to the court of Philadelphus. The diſintereſted manner in which they behaved, cemented more firmly the alliance; and the liberality of Ptolemy to the Romans excited their admiration and eſteem.

Six years elapſed after this event, without any circumſtance of hiſtorical importance having occurred. The diſpoſition of Ptolemy Philadelphus, indeed, was truly pacific, though he did not ſuffer any ambitious project to paſs unnoticed, which might eventually tend to diſturb the tranquillity of Egypt. When Antigonus of Macedon ſhewed his diſpoſition of aggrandizement in the unprovoked invaſion of Greece, Philadelphus diſpatched a formidable fleet under Patroclus, a Grecian general, to the aſſiſtance of Athens. The want of co-operation of the land forces from Sparta, which engaged to attack the army of Antigonus, prevented the ſucceſs of this meaſure; and the Egyptian fleet, incapable of rendering them any aſſiſtance, returned home. Athenæus relates upon this occaſion, that, in the return of Patroclus from Greece, he ſtopped at the port of Caunus, a maritime city of Caria, where he met with the unprincipled poet, Sotades. This man had, with the malig-

nant diſpoſition of a demon, abuſed the character of Lyſimachus in his ſatyrs, while he was receiving that prince's favours; and after he had taken refuge in the capital of Egypt from the juſt puniſhment of his calumnies, he compoſed a virulent ſatire againſt his beſt friend, Ptolemy. Such a deteſtable character, who was entirely diveſted of gratitude, and who reſpected neither virtue nor his friends, juſtly merited a puniſhment; but the reſentment of Patroclus, for the abuſe of his maſter's fame, extended too far. He ſeized the unhappy poet, dragged him on board one of his ſhips, cauſed a weight of lead to be faſtened to his body, and plunged him into the ſea.

About two years after the failure of this expedition, the affairs of Ptolemy aſſumed a perplexed and gloomy aſpect. Magas, the brother of Philadelphus by the ſame mother, was appointed the ſucceſſor of the treacherous Ophellas, to the government of Lybia and Cyrene. This appointment was given him during the reign of Ptolemy Soter, and was afterwards continued by his ſon. But, taking advantage of the diſtraction of his brother's affairs, he ungratefully revolted from his authority, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed ſovereign of both thoſe provinces.

By his marriage with Apamia, the daughter of Antiochus Soter, king of Upper Syria, he endeavoured not only to eſtabliſh himſelf in the provinces, but actually concerted meaſures with his father in law to wreſt

the government of Egypt from the hands of Ptolemy. With this view, Antiochus collected an army in Syria, for the purpose of invading Egypt fron the east, while Magas himself penetrated from the west into the districts bounded by the Lybian frontiers. The peculiar abilities of Ptolemy, however, defeated these combinations for his destruction, and all their plans were rendered not only abortive, but recoiled upon themselves with redoubled force. The fleets of Ptolemy were employed in making descents upon their coasts, and the troops which were raised to carry the war into Egypt were scarcely sufficient to restrain the ravages made into their own territories. Magas, indeed, succeeded in taking possession of a city in Marmorica, but an insurrection among his troops in Lybia effectually checked his progress; and it became a matter of difficulty alone to retain possession of his usurpation, without venturing to extend his dominions further.

While these dangers threatened Egypt from without, an unsuspected conspiracy was forming within the country, which assumed a more formidable appearance than from open an avowed enemies. Ptolemy had marched an army to the frontiers, which he commanded in person, for the purpose of opposing the arms of Magas. During his employment in that expedition, 4,000 Gauls, which he had formerly taken into his service, openly revolted, and threatened to assume the government themselves. This alarming

inſurrection prevented him from annihilating the power of Magas, as he was obliged to return to thwart the meaſures of theſe enterprizing foreigners, before their ſchemes were ſufficiently matured. But their audacity and ambition were ſufficiently puniſhed; they were hemmed within an iſland of the Nile, till they individually periſhed with hunger, except ſuch as chuſed the dreadful alternative of putting a period to each others lives.

The brother of Ptolemy, finding his tenure of the two provinces which he had uſurped built only upon a ſlender foundation, reſolved, while his affairs wore a favourable appearance, to negotiate for a more ſecure claim to their poſſeſſion. He accordingly offered terms of accommodation, and propoſed a marriage between his only daughter, Berenice, and the eldeſt ſon of Ptolemy, wherein the two provinces which he held were to be conſidered as her dowry. Such terms, being mutually agreeable,, and apparently mutually advantageous, were concluded upon by both the parties. A peace ſoon followed theſe negociations; but before the treaty was finally adjuſted, Magas fell a victim to an immoderate fit of drinking and debauchery. His death put a period, for a ſhort time, to the good underſtanding which was expected to follow theſe negociations. The widow of Magas wiſhed to retain her power, and, for that purpoſe, invited Demetrius of Macedon to eſpouſe her daughter, and retain poſſeſſion of the uſurped provinces. De-

metrius accepted the invitation, but inſtead of being married to the daughter, Apamia herſelf contracted a violent paſſion for him, and reſolved to be eſpouſed herſelf. In this ſituation of affairs, a conſpiracy, inſtigated by the young lady, Berenice, and her friends, diſſolved this amorous connection. Demetrius was ſeized, and put to death; Apamia was baniſhed to her brother in Syria; Berenice was united to Ptolemy Eurgetes, the ſon of Philadelphus; and the two revolted provinces again became united to the ſovereignty of Egypt.

The diſappointed and exaſperated Apamia, after her arrival at the court of her brother, Antiochus, reſolved, if poſſible, to wreak her indignation againſt her daughter, who was now become united to the family of the Ptolemies. She, indeed, ſucceeded in gaining ſuch an aſcendancy over her brother, as to induce him to declare war againſt Ptolemy Philadelphus; but he was baffled in every undertaking, and the war proved ultimately nearly fatal to his throne. His eaſtern provinces revolted, and he was glad to diſengage himſelf from the Egyptian war at almoſt any expence, and on any terms which were preſcribed. When a treaty of peace was concluded, Ptolemy obliged him to repudiate the wife and children of a former marriage, and to eſpouſe his own daughter, Berenice, whoſe children were to become his lawful heirs to the throne. The object of theſe negociations was politically laudable: He wiſhed to ſe-

cure the kingdom of Egypt from the aggreſſions of ambitious men; and he thought ſuch a meaſure could not more effectually be ſecured, than by the ties of affinity and family connexion.

This marriage was, in conformity to the treaty with Antigonus, celebrated with every mark of pomp and ſplendour;* but, contrary to the expectation of Ptolemy, it was attended with fatal conſequences to the two kingdoms. During the reſidence of Philadelphus in Syria, (in conſequence of the marriage of his beloved daughter), he ſaw a beautiful ſtatue of Diana in one of the temples, which ſtruck his attention in a remarkable manner, in conſequence of its extreme beauty and ſymmetry. Antiochus, in order to gratify the taſte of the Egyptian ſovereign, made him a preſent of this beautiful ſtatue, which was conſequently removed to Egypt. When it arrived at Alexandria, and was depoſited in a place prepared for its reception, the fears or the ſuperſtition of Arſinoe, the queen of Ptolemy, were alarmed, in conſequence of the temple of Diana being robbed of her ſtatue. She was ſeized with an alarming indiſpoſition; ſhe continually dreamt of the ſacrilege offered to that divinity, and conſidered that her preſent diſtemper was ſent as a

* It was this daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus, for whom he had ſuch an affection, that he ordered regular ſupplies of the river Nile to be tranſmitted to; under the perſuaſion, that there was no other water in the world equally nutritious, or more conducive to her health. A.

puniſhment from the offended goddeſs. Theſe apprehenſions of his beloved queen being communicated to Ptolemy, the ſtatue was immediately returned to its former ſituation, and replaced in the temple of Diana, accompanied by rich preſents to the offended deity. A variety of ſacrifices were likewiſe offered up, to appeaſe her diſpleaſure; but all were without effect. The queen ſtill continued worſe; and their prayers and their ſacrifices were found entirely unavailing. The diſtemper at length put a period to her life, and Ptolemy Philadelphus became inconſolable for her loſs.

Though Arſinoe was conſiderably older than himſelf, and too infirm to have any children, yet he retained a conſtant and tender regard for her not only during life, but even after her death. He built ſeveral cities throughout Egypt, and erected different temples and palaces, which were ennobled with the title of his queen; and after ſhe died, he formed the extraordinary deſign of conſtructing a temple in Zephyrium, on a promontory of land in the iſle of Cyprus, the concave part of which was to be lined with adamant; and, from the top of the dome, an iron ſtatue of the queen was to be ſuſpended. The execution of this remarkable building was entruſted to Dinocrates, the famous architect of antiquity. He was now grown old in the ſervice of the Ptolemies; and he died in a few months after the work was begun.—Philadelphus himſelf was languiſhing under the in-

firmities of old age and a tender conſtitution; and being naturally feeble and effeminate, the loſs of his queen operated ſo powerfully upon his health, that he literally died of a broken heart, and only ſurvived her a few months. This extraordinary ſtructure was therefore left unfiniſhed, and was afterwards converted into a different purpoſe from what was at firſt intended.

The progeny of Ptolemy Philadelphus conſiſted of two ſons and a daughter, the children of Arſinoe, his firſt queen, and who was the daughter of Lyſimachus. He had reigned thirty-eight years in Egypt, and died at the age of ſixty-three; and his eldeſt ſon, Ptolemy Eurgetes, ſucceeded to the throne.

Ptolemy Philadelphus, though he may be properly viewed as a weak and timid character, yet poſſeſſed many amiable qualities and perſonal endowments, which entitled him to the eſteem of poſterity. His conduct to the benevolent Demetrius Phaleurus was certainly unjuſtifiable; and the riches, luxury, and ſplendour belonging to his court, undoubtedly tended to foſter vice, and induce the introduction of thoſe effeminate pleaſures by which villainy is pampered and virtue is decried. However, his principal defects were only venial, and his generoſity, encouragement to induſtry and commerce, and love for the arts, will amply compenſate for thoſe failings and vices which tinge his character.

The unfortunate of every nation were ſupplied with an aſylum from misfortune, or from perſecution; and his encouragemement to learned men rendered the court of Philadelphus the ſeat of politeneſs and philoſophy. The library of Alexandria was increaſed under his reign; but his own genius, and diſcriminating taſte, rendered thoſe acquiſitions to learning peculiarly valuable; as he did not ſuffer the vanity of having a great increaſe of literature to be placed in competition with the excellence or merit of thoſe books which he ſelected. He followed the footſteps of his father, in the encouragement of ſchools and academies; and his knowledge of literature and the arts enabled him to converſe with men of talents, ſo as to judge with propriety of their abilities. He created ſuch an emulation in the ſchools throughout Egypt, that men of extraordinary abilities were produced by their exertions; and they continued, with increaſing reputation, for many years. For the ſake of learning and the arts, the riches of Philadelphus were placed in proper hands. His opulence was almoſt without a parallel; but his munificence was likewiſe remarkable and extraordinary.

It appears that the wars in which both Ptolemy Philadelphus and his father engaged, were with the view of rendering Egypt ſecure from the ambition of ſurrounding powers. A due obſervation of the ſituation and internal wealth of Egypt appears to have convinced them that it was amply ſufficient to exer-

ciſe all their abilities. The ſagacity of Alexander diſcovered the ſuperior convenience which it enjoyed over all other nations, and he founded his capital that ſoon became the central depot of all the commerce in the eaſtern and weſtern world. Ptolemy Soter followed the example of his predeceſſor, and recovered the proſperity of Egypt effectually from its former depreſſion. Philadelphus likewiſe, with ſimilar views, with extraordinary reſources, and with the moſt liberal government, extended his commercial and agricultural improvements to every portion of the realm. He built cities and dug harbours in the moſt ſterile parts of the coaſts of the Red Sea, and finiſhed that extraordinary work denominated the "Colſoum Canal," which extended from that arm of the ſea which runs up to Suez, to the Nile. He built fleets on the eaſtern and weſtern ſeas, to protect thoſe merchant ſhips which brought into Egypt the productions of all nations, and exported her produce and her manufactures. In the interior of the country, he opened canals in the midſt of deſarts totally deſtitute of water, and diffuſed joy and fertility over a large portion of the Lybian waſte. To add to theſe great objects, the liberality of his government was ſuch, that the natives of the ſurrounding countries abandoned their native lands, and became voluntary ſubjects in Egypt. Theſe ſtrangers received a benevolent reception, and were entitled to the ſame privileges with the native citizens. Their rights and

property were alike reſpected, and no extraordinary reſtrictions prevented them from exerciſing any mercantile or commercial purſuits. Theſe liberal regulations afford the hiſtorian room for panegyric and praiſe. It is the mercenary and contracted policy of weak governments to fetter the induſtry of the people by taxation, or to reſtrain the exertions of the merchant or the artizan by penalties and impoſts. It is luxury alone, and the extravagances of the wealthy, that ought to be diſcouraged and deſtroyed.

PTOLEMY EURGETES.

This prince aſcended the throne under the moſt propitious circumſtances; but his peace was ſoon diſturbed by the conduct of Antiochus, king of Syria. That monarch no ſooner heard of the death of Philadelphus, than he violated the treaty which he had only two years before ſolemnly engaged to perform. He divorced Berenice, the ſiſter of Ptolemy Eurgetes, with her infant ſon, and recalled his former queen, Laodice, from baniſhment. That princeſs, after her arrival, endeavoured to prevent effectually any return of the caprice of her huſband, by forming a ſecret party in her intereſt. With this power which ſhe had acquired, ſhe conſpired the death of Antiochus, and raiſed her eldeſt ſon, Seleucus Callinicus, to the throne. Not ſatisfied with the death of her huſband, ſhe concerted meaſures with her ſon to deſtroy her competitor, Berenice, with the infant heir. Aware

of the dangers to which she was exposed, Berenice fled to the garrison of Daphne, built by Seleucus Nicator; but the perfidy of her own attendants, after she was besieged by Laodice, proved her ruin. She was betrayed into the hands of her enemies, and experienced a cruel and inhuman death.

Ptolemy Eurgetes no sooner heard of the indignities offered to his sister, than he prepared to march an army into Asia, to avenge her wrongs. The cities of Asia Minor, who had received intelligence of the cruel treatment she experienced in the citadel of Daphne, were moved with compassion at her misfortunes, and formed a confederacy to raise the siege, and release her from the power of Laodice. All their endeavours, however, to extricate the unfortunate Berenice, were unavailing. Before either of the armies could approach the city where she was besieged, her enemies had already consummated their cruelties, and she and all her attendants were sacrificed upon the altar of their ambition. The troops of Asia now joined those of Egypt, and Ptolemy possessed the power of gratifying his resentment upon the perpetrators of these enormities. The cruelties of Laodice and her son had effectually alienated the esteem of their subjects and soldiers, and wherever Ptolemy appeared, he was received with open arms. Laodice received the reward of her barbarities by the order of Ptolemy; Seleucus was banished from the possessions he had usurped; and the dominions of

Antiochus, from Syria to the Tigris, ſubmitted to the authority of the Egyptian monarch. The progreſs of his conqueſts were, however, arreſted, by the news of an inſurrection in his rear, and he was obliged to return from his eaſtern expedition, after leaving the provinces to the eaſt of Mount Taurus under the government of his general, Antiochus.

The ſpoils which he acquired by theſe rapid conqueſts were immenſe. Beſide an aſtoniſhing quantity of gold and ſilver veſſels of different dimenſions, and of great value, he carried off ſilver to the amount of 40 talents; a ſum, in Britiſh currency, equal to the value of ſix millions ſterling. The beautiful ſtatues which he likewiſe procured, were extremely valuable: their number, in all, amounted to 2,500, among which were the gold and ſilver deities which Cambyſes had torn from the temples in Egypt, and ſent into Perſia. Theſe religious appendages of Egyptian worſhip were replaced in their former ſituations; and ſo grateful were the people for this mark of his regard, that they ennobled him with the title of Eurgetes, a name which implies *benefactor*.

In his return from this ſucceſsful expedition in the eaſt, he ſtopped at Jerulalem, and offered a ſolemn ſacrifice to God, according to the ceremonies of the Jews. The particular reſpect which he paid to the learned men of that nation, and the homage that he ſhewed to their worſhip, have induced a belief that Ptolemy, in his own mind, worſhipped the Deity.

The difficulty of combatting the prejudices peculiar to the religion of Egypt and Greece, have been alleged as the only reaſon why the religion of Paleſtine was not propagated among his countrymen.

But whatever might be his own opinion reſpecting religion, the ridiculous fooleries which he permitted under his own eye, and ſeemingly with his approbation, prove that Ptolemy was at no pains to counteract the prevalent ſuperſtition in Egypt. During his abſence in Aſia, Berenice, his queen, being apprehenſive of the dangers to which he might be expoſed, vowed to conſecrate her hair in the temple of Zephyrium, if he ſhould return in ſafety. This ſacrifice was, no doubt, a moſt important mark of her eſteem, as the hair, in eaſtern dreſs, was conſidered as the greateſt accompliſhment of the ſex. On Ptolemy's return ſhe fulfilled her vow, and dedicated this ornament of her perſon to the Zephyrian Venus. The conſecrated hair was by ſome means ſoon after loſt, and Ptolemy was offended at the negligence of the prieſthood. The adroitneſs, or the ſuperſtition, however, of Conon of Samos, the mathematician, relieved the prieſts from their dilemma, and apprehenſion of a puniſhment. He affirmed, that this holy benediction of his queen was tranſlated to the heavens, and that the ſeven ſtars near the lion's tail were compoſed of the hair of Berenice. This ridiculous aſſeveration was ſoon circulated; and the aſtronomers at the court of Ptolemy, out of compliment to the queen, gave

thoſe ſtars the ſame name, and has continued to be uſed till the preſent period.*

After Seleucus Callinicus had experienced the univerſal defection from his government to that of Ptolemy, he departed with the remnant of his fleet, with the view of regaining ſome of the revolted cities.—His enterprize, however, terminated in additional diſaſter. His whole fleet was ſhipwrecked; and Seleucus, along with ſome of his attendants, with difficulty eſcaped the fury of the tempeſt. At this dreadful conjuncture, when fortune ſeemed entirely to have abandoned him, his misfortunes alone contributed to the re-eſtabliſhment of his affairs. The reſentment of the revolted cities, upon the news of his calamities, was ſpeedily changed into compaſſion; and he had the addreſs to derive from this gleam of popularity the means of reinſtating himſelf in a conſiderable portion of his former poſſeſſions.

This unexpected change he now endeavoured to improve to the greateſt advantage. He was indefatiguable in raiſing a formidable army, for the purpoſe of recovering the whole of the dominions which Ptolemy had acquired. But his ſucceſs in the meaſure was ſimilar to that which he formerly experienced. He was defeated, with immenſe loſs, by the forces of

* Callimæchus, who had been at the court of Ptolemy Eurgetes, compoſed a ſhort poem on the hair of Berenice, which Catullus afterwards tranſlated into latin; which verſion is come down to us. ROLLIN.

Ptolemy; and he retreated to Antioch without any attendants, and almoſt without a friend. Juſtin juſtly obſerves upon this occaſion, that he eſcaped from the ſhipwreck, and nearly recovered his former power, only to experience a greater mortification in a fatal viciſſitude of fortune.

After this ſecond diſaſter, Seleucus, however, retained the confidence and friendſhip of the two cities of Aſia Minor, Smyrna and Magneſia. Attached to his family from a grateful remembrance of former ſervices, which they had received, a confederacy was formed, in which they were determined to ſupport his fallen dignity.* For the purpoſe of ſtill making another ſtruggle to regain his independence, he applied to his brother Antiochus, who was then at the head of an army in the neighbouring provinces.—This young man poſſeſſed a moſt unbounded ambition; and he accepted of his brother's invitation, on the condition of being inveſted as ſovereign in the provinces of Aſia Minor. Apprized of this negocia-

* The treaty which was entered into betwixt the two cities in conſequence of this confederacy, was engraven, ſays Rollin, upon a large column of marble, which ſtill ſubſiſts, and is now in the area before the theatre at Oxford. This column was brought out of Aſia by Thomas Earl of Arundel, at the beginning of the reign of Charles I. and, with ſeveral other antique marbles, were preſented to the Univerſity of Oxford, by his grandſon, Henry Duke of Norfolk, in the reign of Charles II.

tion between the two brothers, Ptolemy concluded a truce with Seleucus for the ſpace of ten years. The diſputes which followed betwixt them, in conſequence of Seleucus declining the other's aſſiſtance, terminated in a battle, by which Antiochus gained an important victory. His troops, which were principally Gauls, however, afterwards mutinied; and it was with difficulty he could appeaſe their clamours, till he forfeited his title of commander for that of ally. A ſeries of misfortunes and defeats ſucceeded theſe tranſactions; in which he contended, not only with his brother Seleucus, but with Eumenes, Attalus, Theodotus and Arſaces, generals who uſurped the dominions of others, as opportunity and the circumſtances of the times might ſerve them. After theſe diſaſters, he was obliged to ſkulk and wander, from one retreat to another, till he took refuge in the court of Ariathes, his father-in-law, who was king of Cappadocia. Even there a conſpiracy was fomenting for his deſtruction, and he only avoided the danger by a ſpeedy retreat, and by delivering himſelf up to the power of his enemy, Ptolemy Eurgetes. Such was the dernier reſort of the unfortunate but ambitious Antiochus Hierax. In this retreat, he was ſtill buſy in ſome political cabal; and Ptolemy, from a principle of ſafety, was obliged to impriſon him, as a dangerous character. Immured in a dungeon, there now appeared every probability of his being detained as a priſoner for life: He, however, found means, by the

assistance of a courtezan, to escape from his confinement; but, in his retreat through the deserts of Arabia, he was assassinated by a band of robbers.

The calamities of Antiochus, while they relieved Seleucus from the ambitious projects which threw his kingdom into confusion, tended, at the same time, to establish the power of Arsaces. This man originated from the lowest situation in life, but, from his abilities as a soldier, had raised himself to a distinguished situation in the army of Antiochus; and those misfortunes which precipitated his royal master to destruction, became the means of raising his future fame and his fortune. Being appointed governor of the province of Parthia, he took advantage of those disasters in which Antiochus was involved with his brother and other generals in the west, and assumed the sovereignty of the east. His political sagacity secured the esteem of his soldiers; and upon every increased accession to his power, his popularity increased in the same proportion.

When Seleucus, therefore, had extricated himself from those troubles in which he was involved in Syria, he prepared to reduce the usurped power of Arsaces. However, the strength of that Parthian general was too firmly established, to be overturned by his most active exertions; and after repeated engagements with a variety of success, the army of Seleucus was at length completely defeated, and himself taken prisoner. That important victory confirmed the

power of Arſaces; and from this period may be dated the eſtabliſhment of the famous Parthian empire, which continued in the family of Arſaces for a long period of time, and ſo effectually counterpoiſed the Roman power, that it became a barrier to their arms in the eaſt, which they could never overturn or ſubvert. After ſix years captivity, the unfortunate and unprincipled Seleucus received a fall from his horſe which occaſioned his death.

During theſe bloody tranſactions in the eaſt, Ptolemy was enjoying the ſweets of tranquillity and abundance in Egypt. Thoſe provinces, indeed, which he conquered from the dominions of Seleucus and his brother, and which he deputed his general, Antiochus, to govern, were wreſted from his power. But his paternal kingdom remained ſtill inviolate, and were free from thoſe commotions which ravaged Aſia from one quarter to the other. He purſued the maxims of his forefathers, in cultivating the ſciences, and in the enlargement of the Alexandrian library. He patroniſed literature of every deſcription, and rendered his name memorable, on account of his ſervices to the learned men of all nations. At this period, the aged librarian, Zenodotus, who had exerciſed that office for a long period of years, finiſhed his days. With a due regard, therefore, to the intereſts of that valuable inſtitution, he procured the learned Eratoſthenes, from Athens, as his ſucceſſor. This man was educated under the care of the famous Cal-

limachus, and was a proficient in thoſe ſcientific purſuits with which that age was diſtinguiſhed. In the capacity of librarian, he diſcharged his functions with extraordinary ability, and produced ſeveral learned diſſertations upon the hiſtory of the ſurrounding nations, and different ſcientific ſubjects. Unfortunately, however, for literature and poſterity, his works have periſhed amid the deſtruction of barbariſm and war, and nothing remains but a catalogue of thoſe books which he wrote. Syncellus, indeed, has preſerved us an abridgment of his hiſtory of Egypt, containing a ſucceſſion of thirty-eight kings from Menes to the Trojan war; but the particulars of that period are ſo ſcanty, as to afford little ſatisfaction either to the reader or the hiſtorian.*

Though the tranſactions of ſurrounding nations at this period might afford us ample ſcope for hiſtorical narration, the pacific conduct of Ptolemy Euergetes leaves us, happily, little room for theſe unpleaſant digreſſions. With the ſagacity of a wiſe ſovereign, he kept totally aloof from the jarring politics of other powers; and his conciliating diſpoſition was well calculated to preſerve peace at home.

Joſephus, however, relates, in his hiſtory of the Jewiſh nation, a circumſtance which had nearly involved that unfortunate country in a quarrel with their

* The preceding portion of this hiſtory, which compriſes the period above alluded to, is principally procured from the information of that learned man, Eratoſthenes. A.

ſovereign, Ptolemy Eurgetes. The uſual tribute of 20 talents, which the province of Paleſtine was accuſtomed to pay to Egypt, had been neglected for ſeveral years. The ſum had now increaſed to an immenſe amount; an ambaſſador was therefore diſpatched to Onias, the high-prieſt of Paleſtine, to demand the payment of the arrears; and, in caſe of refuſal, an army was not only to compel the ſame, but to expel them from their habitations and their country.

Such a demand upon ſuch an occaſion ſpeedily ſpread itſelf throughout Judea. The alarmed high-prieſt ſolicited the indulgence of a ſhort time longer. But the orders of Athenion the Egyptian were prompt and explicit, and any alteration or mitigation of the meaſure was only in the power of Ptolemy himſelf. Athenion, after he had diſcharged his duty, returned to his country, and Joſeph, the nephew of Onias, prepared to follow him thither, for the purpoſe of accommodating meaſures with the ſovereign of Egypt. Athenion was poſſeſſed of a great reſpect for the Jews, and his previous information tended to ſoften the harſh determinations with which Ptolemy was at firſt actuated. Upon Joſeph's arrival, he was received with complacency and reſpect; and the repreſentations of his uncle's age and infirmities, with the eſteem which Ptolemy entertained for himſelf, effectually removed every ſentiment of former animoſity.

It appears that the difficulty of procuring the revenue from the provinces had not been confined to Paleſtine alone. During the embaſſy of Joſeph, ſeveral perſons from Cœlo Syria, and Phenicia, had arrived, with ſplendid equipages, in Egypt, upon a ſimilar buſineſs with that in which he was employed. Their retinue and appearance were ſuch as beſpoke them to be people of dignity and eſteem at the Egyptian court, and the diffidence of Joſeph gave them an importance correſponding to their magnificent parade. At this time, in conſequence of the tardineſs of the provinces, it was determined to adopt a method of collecting part of the revenues by delegation; and whoever was inclined to purchaſe the right, was inveſted with adequate powers for that purpoſe. This mode of farming the revenues was then offered to the ambaſſadors then reſident at Alexandria. The provinces which were to be farmed by this mode were Cœlo Syria, Phenicia, Judea, and Samaria; and for this extenſive purchaſe, the ambaſſadors from Phenicia and Syria only offered eight talents. The ſagacity of Joſeph, however, diſcovered that they depreciated conſiderably their value: He overheard that they produced more than double the ſum, and therefore doubled the price which theſe ambaſſadors had offered. The only heſitation made to the offer of Joſeph, was his inability to find ſecurity for ſo large a ſum: However, the veneration in which he was held at the Egyptian court, made them diſpenſe with the ſtrict

formalities of law. His long ſervice afterwards in the capacity of a deputy, evinced ſufficiently that their confidence in his integrity was not miſplaced, either by the court or the provinces; for he retained his ſituation nearly the ſpace of 12 years, the remaining period of his royal maſter's reign.

Since the Grecian ſtates loſt their influence along with their power, at the fatal battle of Cheronea, they had been ſucceſſively the dupes and ſlaves of tyrants. Now and then a partial glimpſe of their former ſpirit and patriotiſm diſplayed itſelf, but it was always again immerged in the gloom of ſlavery. The exertions of the Ptolemies to reſtore their former independence were rarely ſucceſsful, as their dominions lay at too great a diſtance to enable them to co-operate with the patriots with effect. However, the influence which was preſerved in different cities enabled them occaſionally to lend them effectual aſſiſtance againſt thoſe common diſturbers of the peace of Aſia; though it may be argued, with conſiderable plauſibility, that the motives of the kings of Egypt were totally ſelfiſh; more with a view of repreſſing the ambition of thoſe reſtleſs princes, and occaſioning a powerful diverſion for their armies, than recovering the ancient liberties of Greece. But whatever may be the motives which actuate men to perform praiſe-worthy actions, ſo long as the end in view would redound to the happineſs of mankind, the ſecret ſprings of their conduct cannot be rationally reprehended.

In the inſtance which reſpects our preſent ſubject, the conduct of Ptolemy Eurgetes was extremely generous, and will ever redound with immortal honour to his name. The city of Sicyon, which Ptolemy Soter formerly recovered from the tyranny of Antigonus, and his ſon Demetrius, was now become the theatre of a glorious ſtruggle to regain her independence. Aratus, a young but brave citizen, and the ſon of Clinias, who was butchered by the tyrant Abantidas, by the aſſiſtance of ſome exiles like himſelf, ſcaled the walls of his native city at midnight, called the enſlaved citizens to his ſtandard, and baniſhed the tyrant, with his coadjutors, from the government of Sicyon. He oppoſed the whole power of Antigonus Gonatus, preſerved the repoſe and the happineſs of the city inviolate, and united their city in the Achæan league, which, for a conſiderable length of time, preſerved their independence unimpaired, though intimidated by the hoſtile armies of ſurrounding tyrants. Their courage and their prudence gained them the acceſſion of ſeveral cities to the league; and, by the conduct of Aratus, their independence had every appearance of being perpetuated.

From the clamours of the relations and friends of thoſe men who were baniſhed, it was thought neceſſary, as the repoſe of the city was deemed perfectly ſecure, that they ſhould be recalled from their exile. With the imprudent haſte to which democratic go-

vernments are always expoſed, theſe men were precipitately recalled. When they were originally expelled from Sicyon, their property and eſtates were confiſcated, and diſpoſed of for the public ſervice. The purchaſers of theſe effects were pledged by the public faith, that no claims whatever could be eſtabliſhed againſt them; and they were, therefore, legally conſigned into their hands. But theſe exiles having now returned into the boſom of their country, it was only reaſonable that they ſhould likewiſe be reinſtated in their former poſſeſſions. Applications to that effect were therefore made to the public, for the reſtoration of their property; and their importunities became ſo clamorous, that they could not be reſiſted. Thoſe men to whom their effects were alienated, likewiſe pertinaciouſly adhered to the legality of their purchaſes; and it was not to be expected that they would deliver up their property till they were fairly indemnified.

Such was the predicament of Sicyon, from the pretenſions of the exiles and the complaints of the national purchaſers, that the city became a ſcene of anarchy and confuſion. Public buſineſs was at a ſtand, and a civil war appeared inevitable. In this diſtracted ſituation of the city, Aratus, the public benefactor, ſeeing the impoſſibility of reconciling the two parties, ſet ſail for Egypt. The liberality of Ptolemy was familiarly known throughout Greece; but this call upon his generoſity was deemed too

extenſive to promiſe hopes of ſucceſs. The fine genius of Aratus, however, became a powerful advocate in behalf of the city of Sicyon. His former preſents of paintings and ſtatues to the king of Egypt, were highly acceptable; and when he communicated his diſtreſs, on account of the ſituation to which his native city was reduced, Ptolemy preſented him with an immenſe ſum for its relief. Aratus received perſonally the ſum of forty talents, to return with to the Peleponeſus; but the generous Ptolemy tranſmitted him one hundred and ten talents more, in different payments. The return of this princely character was hailed with unbounded acclamations, and the purchaſers of the national property were reimburſed in all which they had expended. The diffidence of this patriot was as remarkable as his public ſervices were important. He would not engroſs the management of public concerns, though the benefactor of the public, but nominated fifteen coadjutors, to reſtore harmony to the city, and conduct its political intereſts with every mark of wiſdom and prudence.

The meaſures which ſucceeded to theſe noble exertions for the re-eſtabliſhment of Grecian independence, were well adapted to the accompliſhment of their patriotic views. The power of their great antagoniſt, Antigonus Gonatus, king of Macedonia, was conſiderably impaired; Corinth, Lacedemon, with the principal cities of the Peleponeſus, confederated with the Achæan league; and a noble emulation was diſ-

played betwixt the cities of Sicyon and Sparta, which ſhould accompliſh the nobleſt actions for the returning glory of Greece. In all theſe brave and virtuous ſtruggles for Grecian liberty, Ptolemy Eurgetes aided them with his arms, his influence, and his money. Such generous deportment in the conduct of the king of Egypt ſo effectually ſecured their eſteem, that they elected him generaliſſimo of their troops by land and ſea. Under the direction of his arms, ſucceſs generally attended their proceedings. But in an unfortunate hour, the ſeeds of diſſenſion were ſown betwixt the Achæan and Lacedemonian republics. Inſtead of repelling the common enemy from the territories, mutual animoſity was ſucceeded by open violence, and the two independent ſtates were mutually harraſſing and deſtroying their political exiſtence. The arms of Cleomenes, general of the Spartans, were at length victorious, and their mutual peace was to be purchaſed by his appointment to the command of both their armies. Happily for Greece, had theſe terms been recognized and accepted; but the jealous ambition of Aratus defeated the pacific wiſhes of the people. Chagrined that all his ſervices for the public good ſhould have been overlooked and ſuperceded, and that the talents of ſuch a young general as Cleomenes ſhould be rewarded by being called to the ſupreme command, he baſely made a peace with Antigonus, the enemy of his country, for the ſole purpoſe of defeating his competitor's deſign. Thus were all the former glories of

Aratus tarniſhed in a moment. The darling liberties of Greece were thus committed into the hands of its worſt enemies; and all their ſacrifices and ſtruggles for independence were rendered uſeleſs and unneceſſary.

No ſooner was the power of Achæa committed into the hands of Antigonus, than he ſubverted its liberties. Aratus, formerly the brave, the diſintereſted, the patriotic Aratus, became the dupe and paraſite of a tyrant. The ſoldiers of Greece now filled the phalanxes of the king of Macedon, and thoſe men that would have only a few days before ſhed their blood in defence of their independence, were now deſtined to annihilate every veſtige of Grecian liberty. Cleomenes was the laſt and only prop of his country; but the whole ſtrength of the Peloponeſus was in the hands of his enemies. He made, however, one noble ſtruggle to annihilate the power of Antigonus; the combined force of Sparta aſſembled on mount Olympus, and each ſoldier was prepared to ſacrifice his life in defence of his country. A fierce and bloody battle enſued, in which man to man, and rank to rank, diſputed every inch of ground with the utmoſt fury. The Macedonian phalanx at length prevailed over Spartan valour, and only two hundred Lacedemonians ſurvived the horrid conflict. It was a dearly purchaſed victory for Antigonus, but it gave him poſſeſſion of the whole of Greece.

The melancholy catastrophe of the fall of Sparta was marked with singular and extraordinary features of her ancient steadiness and intrepidity. They may appear to be characteristic of a principle of savage barbarity, but they were the convulsive throes of the dying institutions of Lycurgus. Upon the confirmation of their defeat, and consequent slavery, no married woman was observed to mourn the death of her husband; the old men celebrated the death of their sons, and the children congratulated and rejoiced upon the death of their fathers who had fallen in battle. Every one deplored his own fate, in not having sacrificed his life to the liberty of his country. Those who survived the fate of their companions, and were covered with wounds, were received every where with hospitality, were hailed as the public guardians, and their wounds were esteemed as badges of public honour. No appearance of trouble or confusion was displayed throughout the city; and when the tyrant, Antigonus, entered the gates of Lacedemon, the public calamity was the topic of general sorrow, not the losses of individuals.

Amidst this universal mourning, the brave Cleomenes made a precipitate, though involuntary retreat, from his native city. His mother and his children had been previously sent to Egypt, during the civil commotions between Achæa and Lacedemon; he likewise, therefore, threw himself under the protection of Ptolemy Eurgetes. The manly freedom

which this unfortunate Spartan is ſaid to have diſplayed on his firſt viſit to the Alexandrian court, cauſed him to meet with a cold reception; but, on a more mature acquaintance with his noble qualities, his ſincerity and ſimplicity of manners, Ptolemy became enamoured of his character, and courted his eſteem. His probity of manners, and dignity of behaviour, were ſuch, that he did not ſtoop, with the mean ſervility of a courtier, to flatter the Egyptian king; but, with the undaunted ſpirit of an equal, he converſed with Ptolemy with all that graceful politeneſs and firmneſs of mind which characterizes an independent ſoul.

The eſteem in which the generous mind of Ptolemy held this unfortunate exile was ſo great, that he treated him upon the equality of a friend, not as a ſtranger. He cauſed Cleomenes to invite all his friends from Greece into Egypt, and repeatedly aſſured him of his aſſiſtance to reinſtate him and his country in their former ſtate of glory and independence. To aſſure him of his ſincerity, and that he was not making him empty promiſes, he aſſigned him an annual penſion of twenty-four talents, a ſum which is equal to twenty thouſand pounds ſterling. With this allowance he not only ſupported the dignity of his ſtation, but made a proviſion for all thoſe who followed his fortunes into Egypt, and all who accepted his invitation, by retiring from the tyranny of Antigonus in Greece.

About this period, that remarkable earthquake occurred, which made ſuch devaſtation in the iſland of Rhodes, overthrew her famous Coloſſus, and reduced her, from a ſituation of proſperity and opulence, to a ſtate of comparative indigence. The ſhipping in the harbour was deſtroyed; their temples, palaces, and public ſtructures were thrown down; and even their private houſes were demoliſhed. The loſs which they ſuſtained was ſo immenſe, that they ſent deputations to all the neighbouring princes, to implore their relief in the reparation of this calamity. Hiero and Gelon, of Sicily, ſignalized themſelves in a peculiar manner; and an emulation worthy of the greateſt praiſe was diſplayed by the principal cities in Europe and Aſia, and indeed by private individuals. But the munificence of Ptolemy Eurgetes was as remarkable as it was glorious, and diſplayed the feelings of a mind which ſympathized with the ſufferings of the unfortunate. Beſides numerous other expences which he incurred on their account, he ſent them three hundred talents, a million buſhels of corn, timber for building ten gallies, with ten benches of oars, as many with three, and alſo with wood for different purpoſes in ſhip-building and architecture; and along with which, there were donations from private individuals that amounted to three thouſand talents. Such was the glorious ſtruggle in the cauſe of humanity upon this occaſion, that her misfortunes were repaired; and, in a few

years, the proſperity of Rhodes was completely re-eſtabliſhed.

The generoſity of Ptolemy ſeems to have ariſen from a fixed principle, not by fortuitous circumſtances alone. Ever attentive to the intereſts of humanity much more than political accommodation, he was preparing to accompliſh his promiſe to Cleomenes. However, in the midſt of his preparations for the invaſion of Greece, he was arreſted by the hand of death, after a proſperous reign of twenty-five years; and was ſucceeded on the throne by his ſon Ptolemy, furnamed Philopator.

In this prince's death, the virtues of all the Ptolemies ſeem to have been extinguiſhed. No monarch could diſplay more ſolicitude for the intereſts and happineſs of his country, than Ptolemy Eurgetes. But his ſucceſſors appear to have been actuated by very different views; and their ſordid and ambitious principles tended to exclude almoſt every virtuous and honeſt man from their councils. The prince whoſe reign we are deſcribing, made it a principle object of his government to render virtue and learning reſpectable. His court was an aſylum from misfortune to the virtuous and the brave; and his generoſity bore a ſimilar proportion to his other excellent qualities. During the commotions in Aſia, he took eſpecial care to ſecure the commercial proſperity of Egypt. In former reigns, the ſhips had never been ſecure from the piratical depredations of unprincipled

free-booters along the coasts of the Red Sea. To prevent similar occurrences, he established garrisons from the gulph of Suez, along the Arabian and African coasts, to the straits of Babelmandel; and planted colonies of Greeks and Egyptians to protect and watch over the interests of the mother country. By this means a safe and direct communication was preserved, in order to facilitate commerce with Asia, the Indies, and every part of Africa.

PTOLEMY PHILOPATOR.*

This prince ascended the throne of his fathers at the age of twenty, and about 221 years before the Christian æra. Possessed of an effeminate and puerile disposition, he neither relished the blandishments of peace, nor was fit for the hardships of war. Happily, the sagacious judgment of his father left him surrounded with able ministers for his councils, and generals of ability for his armies. His conduct, however, will appear in the sequel, as forgetting both their services and his own duty, and violating every principle of virtue and moderation which ought to characterize a wise and able sovereign.

* From the sudden death of Ptolemy Eurgetes, and the impious joy which his son displayed upon that occasion, it was conjectured, with considerable plausibility, that he occasioned his father's death by poison. From this supposed parricide he received the ironical epithet of Philopator, which signifies a lover of a father. A.

We have obſerved, that Seleucus Callinicus died a priſoner, in the power of Aſaces, the Parthian. His ſons, Seleucus Ceraunus, and Antiochus, were his ſurviving offspring: The former, a weak and timid character, ſoon fell a victim to the unprincipled conduct of two of his principal officers, and the latter ſucceeded to the throne of the Syrian empire. From the diſtraction of the times, the deputies who were appointed to govern the provinces in the eaſt rebelled againſt his authority; and he was obliged to go in perſon to quell the inſurrection. His prime miniſter, Achæus, who had formerly acted the part of a confidential ſervant, and preſerved the throne for Antiochus after the death of his brother Seleucus, was induced, from a glaring abuſe of power in that prince, to aſſume the government of the provinces of Aſia Minor. This reſpectable character, (for ſuch he was eſteemed) became a powerful monarch, and his friendſhip was courted by all the ſurrounding nations. With this prince, therefore, Ptolemy Philopator formed an alliance, for the purpoſe of reſtraining the arms of the young and ambitious ſovereign Antiochus.

The object of this alliance between Achæus and Ptolemy was concerted with very different views.—The former, not contented with abridging the dominions of Antiochus, reſolved to annihilate his power entirely, and aſſume the Syrian empire to himſelf; the latter, though deſirous of counteracting his power,

had no further inclination than what reſpected the preſervation of his own territories from invaſion.—The diſpoſition of Antiochus upon the views of this alliance, was to extirpate Achæus as a rebel; and, upon the pretence of the provinces of Cœlo Syria, Phœnicia, and Paleſtine, not being properly ceded to Ptolemy's great grand-father, he intended to wreſt theſe provinces from his power. With theſe views, he marched in perſon, with an army of conſiderable force, againſt the province of Cœlo Syria.

The perſon into whoſe hands this province was intruſted, was Theodotus, the Ætolian, a general of conſiderable ability. He had repeatedly repelled the forces of Antiochus in the paſſes which guarded the entrance into Cœlo Syria; but having experienced the moſt ungrateful treatment from the court of Ptolemy Philopator, after the performance of important ſervices to the ſtate, he was now reſolved to give up the province into the enemy's poſſeſſion. This mode of revenge, though characteriſtic of a mercenary ſoldier, betrays the diſpoſition of a traitor, and muſt ſtamp his name with infamy and diſgrace. Nevertheleſs, Antiochus, on gaining poſſeſſion of Cœlo Syria, with the moſt important fortreſſes along the coaſt, by means of treachery, appointed the traitor himſelf to be their governor. Nicolaus, however, though a foreigner, and of the ſame country with Theodotus, ſcorned the idea of betraying the truſt repoſed in him. After he took the command, he checked the

progreſs of the enemy, and beſieged Theodotus himſelf in Ptolemais.* In the city of Tyre, the ſtores which were intended to ſupply the army were depoſited. Ptolemais likewiſe contained a fleet of forty ſail of ſhips. Theſe two cities were, therefore, become a determined object with both the armies.---- The negligence of Ptolemy in ſending ſupplies and reinforcements, with the activity of Antiochus, brought the ſiege to a ſpeedy termination. Both Tyre and Ptolemais were reduced, and the enemy got poſſeſſion of their fleets and ſtores.

This ſucceſs to the arms of Antiochus was followed up by the fall of ſeveral other fortreſſes along the coaſt. He likewiſe poſſeſſed himſelf of Damaſcus, with deceiving its governor, Dinon, by ſtratagem. From thence he proceeded to beſiege the city of Dora, a maritime fortreſs in the neighbourhood of mount Carmel; but this place was ſo ſtrongly fortified by Nicolaus, and its ſituation was ſo inacceſſible by nature, that Antiochus was obliged to retire from before it with diſgrace. A truce was afterwards found neceſſary by both the armies, and a ceſſation of hoſtilities was agreed upon for four months.

During this interval, the troops of Antiochus were

* It may be ſomething curious to ſome of our readers to obſerve, that the city of Ptolemais, which was wreſted from the power of Ptolemy Philopator, is identically the ſame with St Jean d' Acre of our day, before which the ſkill and the progreſs of that ſurprizing character, Buonaparte, was arreſted. A.

marched into winter quarters, and Ptolemy was indefatiguable in raiſing a ſufficient force to drive the enemy from his provinces. A lapſe of a few months witneſſed the reſumption of hoſtilities, in which both the powers were formidable by land and ſea. The fleets at ſea, and the armies by land, engaged nearly about the ſame time. The conflict upon both elements was long and arduous; and, by ſea, each party was obliged to retire, exhauſted, without conquering or being conquered: But by land, after a ſevere conteſt, the arms of Antiochus finally prevailed. Nicolaus, who commanded the land forces of Ptolemy, made a precipitate retreat, and fled with his army from mount Libanus to Sidon. The loſs which he ſuſtained upon the occaſion amounted to 4000 ſoldiers killed and taken priſoners. Antiochus purſued the defeated army, with an intention of beſieging the city by land and ſea. Their force was, however, ſo ſtrong, and their proviſions were ſo abundant, that he ſaw little proſpect of inveſting Sidon with ſucceſs. He therefore ſent his fleet to Tyre, and marched into Galilee, for the purpoſe of reducing the remaining fortreſſes and places of ſtrength in the interior of the country which yet acknowledged the power of Ptolemy. His ſucceſs in that meaſure ſtill continued uninterrupted; and he marched through Paleſtine, reducing every place he viſited to his ſubjection. He continued theſe operations, without intermiſſion, till he was obliged, from the advanced ſtate

of the ſeaſon, to return to winter quarters. His conqueſts he therefore intruſted into the power of Hippolochus and Kereas, two officers who deſerted the ſtandard of Ptolemy, with a force of 5,000 men, and returned himſelf, with the remainder of his army, to Ptolemais.

Upon the return of ſpring, the war was renewed with additional obſtinacy, and with great acceſſion to the ſtrength of Ptolemy. This effeminate prince was now rouzed to a juſt ſenſe of his imminent danger. The principal cities in Phenicia, Syria, and Paleſtine, were in the power of Antiochus; and his enemy was approaching by rapid ſtrides, with a powerful army, to invade his Egyptian territories. Aware of theſe preparations for his deſtruction, Ptolemy took the field in perſon, with an army of 70,000 infantry, 5000 cavalry, and 63 elephants. With theſe forces he encamped at Gaza, in an important ſituation, and awaited the approach of Antiochus. His antagoniſt, though conſiderably ſuperior in men, horſes, and elephants, did not chuſe to riſk the event of a battle, without a ſhort time reconoitring, and therefore encamped, likewiſe, at a ſhort diſtance from Ptolemy's army. A few days elapſed without any movements of either army, during which interval, the outpoſts and foraging parties were almoſt continually ſkirmiſhing. The traitor, Theodotus, during this ceſſation, adopted a plan of finiſhing the campaign by a ſilent and deſperate meaſure, which correſponded with his

unprincipled character. He assumed the dress of an Egyptian, and, favoured by the darkness of the night, penetrated to the tent of the Egyptian sovereign. Fortunately for Ptolemy, he was that night absent from his tent, and his first physician met with the untimely fate which was intended for himself. The confusion and alarm which this daring attack created, afforded the ruffian an opportunity to escape.

Soon after this desperate attempt, Ptolemy determined to decide the fortune of the war by the issue of a battle. His queen, Arsinoe, who was also his sister, possessed, in an eminent degree, that enthusiastic military ardour which distinguished her ancestors. She accompanied her nerveless and effeminate husband with the army, and, it is probable, that her influence alone determined the measure of his commanding in person. However that may have been, with the spirit of an Amazon she rode along the ranks, harangued and exhorted the soldiers before the action, and, even during the heat of the engagement, her presence animated and inspired the troops with an universal enthusiasm. The Egyptian army was every where victorious, and Antiochus, defeated with 1000 killed and 4000 prisoners, was obliged to make a precipitate retreat to Antioch with the remainder of his forces. The result of this victory gave Ptolemy early possession of those fortifications which Antiochus had reduced, and the re-conquered provinces hailed him as their deliverer and protector.

When Antiochus had recovered himſelf from the diſaſters which followed his late defeat, he was fully aware that Ptolemy's army, now fluſhed with victory, would take advantage of his misfortunes, and invade his kingdom. But the remiſſneſs and indolence of the Egyptian monarch ſoon diſſipated his fears. Ptolemy had no qualities that were characteriſtic of a conqueror, and his mercenary generals were ill calculated to inſpire him with an ardour for military glory. Antiochus, therefore, ſoon purchaſed his peace, by diſclaiming all title to the provinces in diſpute;* and he directed his arms againſt the brave Achæus, who had uſurped the provinces of Aſia Minor. In that expedition, his meaſures were more ſucceſsful. He formed an alliance with his former enemy, Attallus, king of Pergamus, and their united forces were directed againſt the devoted Achæus. With all the ſuccours which Ptolemy could affiſt him, he was defeated, and forced to take refuge in Sardis, from whence he made a brave and vigorous defence. However, his valour was unavailing; he was betrayed by two miſcreants, who had engaged by the orders

* The provinces in diſpute were Cœlo Syria, Paleſtine, and Phenicia, and were ſituated, according to Rollin, as follows: "Cœlo Syria included that part of Syria which lies between the mountains Libanus and Antilibanus, and Paleſtine, all the country which anciently was the inheritance of the children of Iſrael; and the coaſt of theſe two provinces was what the Greeks called Phenicia."

A

of Ptolemy for his releaſe, but who, for a greater reward, delivered him to Antiochus. Achæus was no ſooner delivered into his antagoniſt's power, than he was beheaded; and the peace of Aſia ſpeedily followed upon his death.

When Ptolemy had relieved himſelf from the exerciſes of war, he devoted himſelf to all the effeminate pleaſures of a voluptuary. In the wantonneſs of diſſipation, during a viſit to Jeruſalem, he wiſhed to penetrate to the *Sanctum Sanctorum* of the Jews;* and on the refuſal of the prieſts to grant his requeſt, he was ſo exaſperated, that he ſoon after inſtituted a perſecution againſt the people of that nation who were reſident at Alexandria. His general behaviour in the provinces was profligate and ridiculous, and ſhewed the weakneſs of a mind totally degraded and enſlaved by his paſſions.

The character of Ptolemy Philopator, and the principles of his reign, became ſo obviouſly different from thoſe of his predeceſſors, that they were juſtly reprobated by every honeſt and obſerving man throughout the kingdom. An inattention to his own honour and the national ſecurity excited the clamours

* The circumſtance of Ptolemy being deſirous to enter the ſecret ſanctuary of the Jews, has been productive of fabulous and contradictory ſtories in ancient hiſtory. The ſtory, as related by the Jews, is to be found in the 3d book of Maccabees, in the Apocrypha; but Dr Prideaux juſtly places little reliance on its authenticity. A.

and indignation of the ſoldiers; and in the late inſtance of complying with the propoſals of Antiochus, when he might have conquered the Syrian empire, a revolt of the army from his authority was with difficulty ſuppreſſed. The ſubtle and accommodating diſpoſition of Soſibes, his prime miniſter, (a man who was grown gray in vice, and had been a minion in the Egyptian court during two preceding reigns) was well adapted to feed the vicious habits of Philopator. But his infamous exceſſes and glaring enormities began to ſhock the minds of the public, who were not yet callous to virtuous impreſſions. Polybius relates, that ſoon after peace was concluded with Antiochus, the diſcontents of the people aroſe to ſuch a violence, that they were not appeaſed without force. It may be obſerved, however, that the perſecutions of the Jews, having occurred at that period, might have given riſe to ſuch an opinion.

It was now 63 years ſince the formal embaſſy from the Romans was ſent to Egypt during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. This long interval, however, did not paſs over without reciprocal marks of friendſhip being diſplayed; but their alliances, as was cuſtomary among ancient nations, became neceſſary to be frequently renewed, in order to carry the efficacy of ſincerity. The Romans, who well knew where to cultivate friendſhip, and to accompliſh it with effect, diſpatched deputies to Philopator, to apologize for their neglect of their ancient attachment, and to renew

their former alliance. Livy relates, that, on being introduced to the Egyptian court, they preſented the king with a robe and purple tunic, accompanied with an ivory chair; and to the queen, an embroidered robe and a purple ſcarf. Such preſents were conſidered by the Romans as the moſt valuable and honourable that could be offered; and they ſhow the happy ſimplicity which prevailed among the conquerors of the world in thoſe ages.

During the early part of Ptolemy's reign, he diſplayed the principal features of a cruel diſpoſition; but as he advanced in age, he daily ſhewed deeper marks of deformity in his character. Soon after his acceſſion to the throne, he cauſed his only brother, Magas, and Berenice his mother, to be publicly put to death. Theſe outrages upon humanity were ſuch as would have rendered his memory for ever infamous; but, horrid as this cruelty may appear, it was perhaps palliated by the public, under the plea of political neceſſity, or from a pretence of a conſpiracy againſt the crown. But after the ſignal victory was obtained over Antiochus, he abandoned himſelf without reſtraint to all the exceſſes of depraved luxury, and the moſt profligate immoralities which the vrieſt wretch could perpetrate. In order to remove every monitor which could check his career of iniquity, he baniſhed every virtuous ſtateſman from his court, and kept only thoſe who bore a reſemblance to himſelf. Agathoclea his concubine,

her brother Agathocles, and their mother, gained such an ascendancy over his mind, that the government of the monarch and the empire were properly under their regulation. The employment of his time consisted in revelry and debauchery, presiding in concerts of music, and playing upon musical instruments. The affairs of state were totally neglected, and every concern of importance was under the direction of the weakest and the most depraved part of his court. The old and artful Sosibes was entrusted with the administrative part of government, and his insinuating address gained him the principal management of its most secret and important concerns. In serving the sovereign and his favourites, he adopted an implicit obedience, and executed, like a parasite of power, their most unjust commands. Such a court, with such a minister, was calculated to unhinge the best institutions of society, and destroy the most honourable and virtuous members of the community.

Arsinoe, the wife and sister of Ptolemy,* long observed, with the utmost concern, the growing depravity of the Egyptian court. She yet retained the virtuous and honourable principles of her forefathers; and when her power and influence over her husband

* Justin calls her Euridice. In case he is not mistaken, this queen had three names, Arsinoe, Cleopatra, and Euridice. But Cleopatra was a name common to the queens of Egypt, as that of Ptolemy was to the kings. ROLLIN.

began to abate, she could not patiently submit to the degradation of being disrespected, and her counsels despised. From advice, she proceeded to remonstrance; and from remonstrance, to complaint; but her virtuous struggles were totally unavailing. They at length grew weary of her murmurs; and the inmates of Ptolemy's court, afraid of her power, should she appeal for redress to the public, ordered Sosibes to put a period to her life. The pliant minister did not hesitate to obey, and Philammon, a creature of his own, performed the business of an assassin.

This act of deliberate cruelty roused the dormant spirits of the people; but, judging that the immediate executioner of the horrid deed was the principal criminal, they demanded the removal of Sosibes. A compliance with their request gave them no uneasiness, so long as the life of *such a faithful* servant was preserved, and Tlipolemus, a young man of quality who had distinguished himself in the war with Antiochus, was appointed to succeed him. Sosibes, however, still preserved his influence unimpaired, and Tlipolemus filled that distinguished office without possessing a similar extent of power. It was found, also, that the capacity of Tlipolemus was not equal to the office he held: He was too proud to study the interests of the people; too ingenuous to be the tool of power; and too fond of flattery to avoid being the dupe of the designing. This character was,

therefore, ill befitting the ſituation of a miniſter, and he was ſo unfortunate as to be deſpiſed by all.

In this declining period of the glory of Egypt, the affairs of Greece were totally neglected, and inſtead of their former emulation in arts and arms, they were now degenerated into habits of indolence and diſſipation. The ſucceſſor of Antigonus to the throne of Macedonia was his ſon Phillip, a man who purſued ſimilar principles with his predeceſſors, in enſlaving every nation that he conquered, or was under his power. The ſtates of Greece were therefore held as conquered provinces, and their preſent inſignificance among other nations was now nearly proportionate to their former eminence and extraordinary proſperity. The Etolians, a neighbouring and ſtill independent ſtate, whoſe power had ariſen from the diſtractions of other nations, took advantage of their depreſſed ſituation, and made ſeveral inroads and plundering excurſions into their defenceleſs towns and ungarriſoned cities. Greece, thus harraſſed and plundered by Etolia, was at length rouſed into reſiſtance, and took arms even under the banners of their oppreſſor, Phillip. The unfortunate Spartan, Cleomenes, who was ſtill reſident at Alexandria, with a few faithful adherents, endeavoured in vain to melt Ptolemy into pity, or animate him with a glorious ardour to recover the liberties of Greece. The faſcinations of luxury and of indolence, or the political influence of Phillip of Macedon, prevented him from avenging the wrongs

of Cleomenes, or eſpouſing his country's cauſe. This valuable opportunity of reſcuing his native land from the power of a tyrant was therefore loſt; and, as if his own fate was connected with that of his country, he was doomed to experience, from the tyranny and brutality of Ptolemy, the moſt grievous indignities which jealouſy or malevolence could deviſe.

After repeated applications had been made to Ptolemy by the brave exile, in behalf of himſelf and his country, but without effect, the fears and ſuſpicions of the Egyptian court were juſtly alarmed.—The father of Philopator had died in the very act of preparing an expedition againſt the oppreſſors of Greece, and Cleomenes was retained in the ſervice of the ſon, till a fit opportunity preſented itſelf of accompliſhing that promiſed object. The crimes of Ptolemy, particularly the murder of Magas and his mother, were ſtrongly proteſted againſt by this virtuous Spartan: But the cabals of vicious men, and the councils of the creatures of the monarch, defeated the ſage leſſons of Cleomenes, and his advice was totally neglected. Being thus tacitly baniſhed from the Egyptian court, the licentiouſneſs of the palace was without check or interruption, as the eye of independent virtue did not then overawe them. At length, Ptolemy overleaped all the bounds of honour and moderation; his criminal exceſſes became familiar to his people, and the dignity of the monarch was reduced below

the level of his ſubjects. In this ſtate of degradation, when public virtue was decried at home, and the proſperity of the country was neglected abroad, did the petition of Cleomenes approach the throne. On the neglect or refuſal of his requeſt, he then ſolicited leave to depart from Egypt. But his importunities were ſo far unavailing, that, inſtead of granting him the ſame indulgencies as formerly, he was deprived of his ſalary, and cloſely watched as a priſoner of ſtate.

Theſe calamities, which thus thickened upon the unhappy Cleomenes, were principally inſtigated by the unprincipled Soſibes. Aware that, ſhould this Spartan general reviſit his native country, he would effectually recover its independence, and would then retaliate upon Egypt for the injuries he had received, this crafty miniſter, and his effeminate coadjutors, imagined, that, by detaining him in Alexandria in a ſtate of dependence, their power and their ſafety would be ſecured from his enterprize or his revenge. In order to effectuate this object with greater plauſibility, Soſibes recollected an obſervation which Cleomenes had made in council, of an ambiguous nature, reſpecting the attachment of the Grecians to the ſovereign of Egypt while he was preſent. Theſe expreſſions, with a forged letter of a treaſonable nature, which was pretended to be intercepted, were fabricated into a crime, and Cleomenes was ſeized as a ſtate priſoner by order of the king. To ſoften, however, the rigours of captivity, he was conſidered as a pri-

ſoner at large, circumſcribed within the walls of Alexandria, and was permitted the liberty of ſeeing his friends.

Such repeated marks of diſgrace affected the noble mind of this generous Spartan with a deep and ſettled melancholy. He now conſidered himſelf as a man baniſhed for ever from his country, and from ſocial intercourſe with mankind. To add to his other diſaſters, his principal friends were ſeized and thrown into priſon. Cleomenes, now actuated with the moſt poignant regret, was ſeized with a deſperate frenzy againſt the authors of his calamities. He formed a reſolution of inſtigating a rebellion, and aſſerting his liberty, like a Spartan, by force of arms, rather than linger out his life like a ſtalled victim, and die forgotten and unlamented.

For the better accompliſhment of his deſperate purpoſe, he found means to liberate his friends from priſon. With this handful of men, he ſallied into the ſtreets of Alexandria. He called upon and exhorted the populace to join his ſtandard, for the purpoſe of recovering their liberty, and the deſtruction of their common oppreſſors. The citizens, who were moſtly foreigners of different nations, were either too timid to join the rebellion, or conſidered them as a few men actuated ſolely by frenzy and deſperation. All the inhabitants fled on their approach, and Cleomenes, with his party, had gone too far to recede, or ſubmit to the power of Ptolemy. The only alternative they

had to hope from, was in attacking the citadel, and liberating the priſoners, from whom they would certainly derive an acceſſion of ſtrength. Every gate, however, was ſtrongly barricadoed, and no reſource was now left for them but to die ſword in hand. To check their mad career, the governor of the city, and a few noblemen, ſtepped forward to oppoſe them, but they loſed their lives in the attempt, and it was neceſſary to ſurround them by an army of ſoldiers. When all hopes of liberty were now gone, they would not ſuffer themſelves to be taken like cowards, but, with the proud ſpirit of ancient Spartans, they put a period to their lives by falling on their ſwords. Such was the death of the unfortunate Cleomenes and his companions; but the tragical circumſtances which followed that event were ſtill more affecting and deplorable. The body of Cleomenes was hung up, *in terrorem*, on a croſs in a conſpicuous part of the city; and, with the cruelty of barbarians, the mother, children, and their attendants, (againſt whom no crime could be alledged) were ordered to be put to death. Even at the place of execution, when that unfortunate princeſs requeſted to die before her children, her petition was refuſed, and ſhe was doomed, with a refinement of cruelty, to ſee her family individually periſh before her eyes.

A few years only of Ptolemy Philopator's reign ſucceeded theſe ſcenes of anarchy and bloodſhed. Debauchery and intemperance had filled their round,

and ruined a conſtitution which was naturally vigorous and ſtrong. He died, ſays Juſtin, like other votaries of pleaſure, a martyr to ſenſual gratifications, before he had run half the courſe of his life. Raiſed to the throne at the early age of twenty, he died when only 37, after a reign of 17 years. The event of his death occurred about 205 years before the Chriſtian æra, and his ſon, Ptolemy Epiphanes, ſucceeded to the throne.

PTOLEMY EPIPHANES.

The eventful circumſtances in which Egypt, at this period, was involved, proved ultimately of reciprocal ſervice, both to the Egyptians and the Romans.—When the death of Philopator took place, his ſon Epiphanes was only five years old; and the government was properly conducted by Agathocles, his ſiſter, and their creatures. With a ſimilarity of principle which had actuated their former conduct, they determined to conceal the death of the king, till meaſures were concerted for their own ſafety and aggrandizement. The money, jewels, and other valuable effects in the palace, were conveyed away; a plan which they adopted as an alternative, in caſe they did not ſucceed in uſurping the regency. In order, however, to effectuate that meaſure, a ſcheme was adopted to diſpatch the prime miniſter Tlipolemus, as the principal obſtacle to their aſſumption; or, if that did not ſucceed, to remove him by an accuſation of treaſon.

When their plans were, as they imagined, ſufficiently matured, the death of Ptolemy Philopator was announced, and an aſſembly of the principal citizens was collected, for the purpoſe of promoting the objects they had in view. The hypocrite Agathocles prefaced his oration by a flood of tears over the young prince, whom he held in his arms, and then implored the protection of the people againſt the machinations of his ſecret enemies. He then accuſed the unſuſpecting Tlipolemus of forming a conſpiracy for his life, in order to uſurp the throne; and, to eſtabliſh this bold accuſation, witneſſes were at hand (who were no doubt ſuborned) to prove the charge. In the concluſion of this harangue he informed the aſſembly, that Philopator had, in his expiring moments, entruſted the young prince to the care and tuition of his ſiſter Agathoclea; and alſo recommended him to the fidelity of the Egyptian people. During this addreſs, the people diſcovered evident marks of diſapprobation and rage; but no ſooner did he conclude, than all was uproar and confuſion. Their iniquitous character was pretty generally known; and the received opinion of Tlipolemus's virtue, notwithſtanding his weakneſſes, diſcovered, that all their pretenſions and profeſſions were founded in artifice and deceit. The young prince was forcibly wreſted from the arms of Agathocles, and enthroned upon the king's ſeat, in Hippodrome, the place where their games, races, and wreſtling, were always celebrated.

The indignation of the populace became outrageous, and the lives of Agathocles, his ſiſter and mother, were ſacrificed by their fury, in the preſence of the young king, as if it had been done by his authority. The vengeance of the public was even wreaked upon their relations and creatures; and they dragged their lifeleſs bodies, after their death, through the ſtreets. Such was the fate of the minions of Ptolemy Philopator's court.

Theſe ſcenes of confuſion, though they tended to unhinge the regularity of government, and endanger the life and the conſequent eſtabliſhment of the young prince upon the throne, produced the effect of puniſhing thoſe peſts of ſociety, who had, in the preceding reign, preyed upon the public peace. It is probable that the iniquitous conduct of Soſibes met with the reward it ſo properly deſerved: but it is ſomewhat ſingular, that the ſon of that man ſhould be afterwards appointed public miniſter, upon the demiſe of Philopator, and the reſignation of Tlipolemus. His different character, indeed, and known abilities, might be motives ſufficient whereby the public reſentment againſt his family might be appeaſed. Philammon, the minion of his father, however, who had baſely aſſaſſinated the amiable Arſinoe, met with the puniſhment of his crimes. He had returned from Cyrene, previous to the public commotion, (where he had been employed during the reign of Ptolemy Philopator) for the ſuppoſed purpoſe of aſſiſting his baſe

patrons in the execution of their treasonable views.—But the failure of those projects also accelerated his own ruin; for the ladies of honour belonging to the late queen, were no sooner informed of his being in the city, than they broke into the house where he was concealed, and wreaked their vengeance upon his person.

After the public ferment was somewhat allayed, the attention of the nation was immediately directed to the ambitious politics of the surrounding kingdoms. The insidious policy of Antiochus, and Philip of Macedon, had, in the former reign, held a considerable influence, by their partizans, in the Egyptian court. The indolence and dissipation of Philopator unnerved him for the exercises of war, and these two monarchs, being free from any apprehensions respecting his power, were left at liberty to follow their ambitious designs, without the danger or fear of his interference. But now that the succession to the crown was occupied by an infant, and the administration was inimical to their interests, (or, more properly, attentive to the peace and happiness of Egypt) they took advantage of the national distractions to partition the empire betwixt them. This iniquitous alliance was adopted, without the smallest pretence to justice or humanity, or even the usual pretexts which the most specious tyrants so frequently adopt, as a cover for their enormities or their ambition. The terms of the coalition were conceived with

the moſt cool indifference, and were only equalled by the unconcern which they diſplayed in reducing their plans into execution. Antiochus was to have Phenicia, Cœlo-Syria, and Paleſtine, as his diviſion; and Egypt, Lybia, and Cyrenaica, were allotted to Philip. Such was the eagerneſs of Antiochus to get poſſeſſion of thoſe provinces adjudged to him, that they were immediately invaded; and ſo ſlight was the reſiſtance made in oppoſition to his arms, that, in two campaigns, Cœlo-Syria and Paleſtine were completely overrun.

It is obſerved by Polybius, that one would be tempted to exclaim againſt the decrees of Providence, in ſuffering ſuch open violations of juſtice to paſs unnoticed and unpuniſhed. However, it appears that both theſe monarchs were ſoon ſufficiently puniſhed for their unprincipled behaviour towards Egypt. No ſooner had the news of the coalition between Philip and Antiochus tranſpired, than the Egyptian court was juſtly alarmed. They diſpatched a meſſenger immediately to Rome, claiming the protection of that people; and declared that Ptolemy Philopator had deſired, at his death, that the regency and guardianſhip of the young king might be committed into their hands. The generous and manly character of the Romans left them not long to determine what plan to purſue. They accepted the office of protector, and appointed three deputies to ſuperintend the affairs of Egypt and the education of Ptolemy Epiphanes.

Emilius, the youngeſt of the three, departed for Egypt, while the other two ambaſſadors conducted its political intereſts at the courts of Philip and Antiochus. Ariſtomenes, the Acarnanian, a wiſe and prudent ſtateſman, was delegated by the Roman ambaſſador to be the prime miniſter and tutor of the young prince; and Egypt was thus recovered from the imminent danger with which it was threatened.

Upon the acceſſion of this foreigner to the adminiſtration of the affairs of Egypt, he took effectual means to recruit the national forces, and render them formidable to the power of Antiochus. He engaged Scopas, a famous Etolian general, and enliſted ſix thouſand of the troops of that nation into the Egyptian army. With this and other reinforcements, Ariſtomenes urged Scopas to march into Cœlo-Syria, during the abſence of Antiochus in Aſia Minor. An Egyptian army was therefore diſpatched into that province, which it ſpeedily overrun; re-took the principal cities both in Cœlo-Syria and Paleſtine; and, after throwing a garriſon into Jeruſalem, returned to Alexandria on the approach of winter, laden with the ſpoils of its victories.

Such was the ſucceſsful termination of this campaign under Scopas; but, on the reſumption of hoſtilities in the ſpring, diſaſter and defeat attended the army of Egypt. Antiochus directed the whole ſtrength of his empire to the provinces of Paleſtine and Cœlo-Syria, and recovered nearly what he had

loſt the preceding year. Scopas was defeated near the ſource of the river Jordan, and, after loſing moſt of his army, was obliged to retreat to Sidon with only 10,000 men. In this fortreſs the remainder of the army was beſieged, and, after three different formidable efforts to relieve the garriſon, were obliged to ſurrender to Antiochus as priſoners of war, with the ignominious condition alſo of Scopas's life being only ſpared.

Antiochus thus again ſpeedily reconquered the provinces of Paleſtine and Cœlo-Syria; but the ſtrong reſiſtance he met with from the city of Gaza in his progreſs towards Egypt, checked his immediate career in that direction. However, he baniſhed the whole of the Egyptian garriſons that were planted in different parts of the interior of the provinces, and placed others in their ſtead.

The Romans, who were now properly adminiſtrating in Egypt, ſaw theſe movements of Antiochus with concern and apprehenſion; but as this monarch was deſirous of extending his arms eaſtward, he wiſhed to conciliate the Egyptians, in order to prevent them wreſting his new-gained poſſeſſions from his power. For that purpoſe, he propoſed to marry his daughter, Cleopatra, to the young king, Ptolemy Epiphanes, and, as her dowry, the provinces formerly dependent on Egypt were to be conferred upon her, reſerving only half their revenues. This marriage, however, was not to be celebrated till they were both

a few years older, when the provinces ſhould be regularly transferred. The Egyptians, anxious to purchaſe tranquillity almoſt at any price, during the king's minority, readily complied with the propoſition, and it was conſequently ratified in due form.

This concluſion to the unjuſt aggrandizements of Antiochus, by means of a colluſive treaty, though it tended toward off a rupture at that time, the Romans conſidered it as only expedient not to break immediately with that prince. Not long after, however, when they ſaw that that monarch was graſping at univerſal dominion, preparing to tranſport an army into Europe, and was already begun to build a capital for his ſon Seleucus, they determined in good earneſt to check the career of his ambition. In the mean time, while Antiochus was meditating to put in execution his vaſt projects, a report reached him that Ptolemy Epiphanes was dead. This news, though premature, induced that monarch to ſet ſail immediately, with a formidable fleet, towards Egypt, in the expectation of being able to add that kingdom to his empire. In his paſſage thither, he was informed of the falſity of the news; but to atone for the diſappointment, he directed his courſe to the iſland of Cyprus, with an intention of ſeizing it by ſurprize. His ſchemes, however, univerſally failed, and he was compelled at length, to take refuge, after having loſt the moſt of his fleet by ſtorms in the harbour of Antioch.

The origin of this rumour of Ptolemy's death aroſe

from the detection of a conſpiracy againſt his life and crown. This plot was contrived by the Etolian general, Scopas, and was accompanied by a probability of ſucceſs, owing to his having the command of the army, which principally conſiſted of foreigners, and a great number of his own countrymen. Jealouſy among his principal officers detected the plot; and Ariſtomenes, with remarkable firmneſs, arreſted Scopas and his coadjutors, when it was nearly ripe for execution. The life and property of that general being forfeited, immenſe treaſures were found in his poſſeſſion, which, no doubt, had been amaſſed by plundering the provinces over which he had commanded. It is juſtly obſerved, that the tranſition from avarice to perfidy is often very ſhort; and the fidelity of that general is little to be relied on, when once it is diſcovered that he has a paſſion for riches.

Soon after this conſpiracy was detected and defeated, it was thought prudent, for the purpoſe of preventing ſimilar outrages, to eſtabliſh the young prince upon the throne. He had no ſooner, however, aſſumed the government himſelf, than he adopted all thoſe habits of effeminacy, luxury, and pride, which had diſgraced his father's reign. The ſervices of the wiſe and prudent Ariſtomenes were overlooked and neglected, and, after diſcarding that truſty ſervant from his office, he added villainy to ingratitude, by ſoon after cauſing him to be put to death. Such was the commencement of a reign that formerly pro-

miſed very different conſequences: But the concluſion of his career fully anſwered the iniquitous meaſures which diſgraced its beginning.

A conſummation of the marriage between Ptolemy and the daughter of Antiochus took place in due form. The motives, however, which prompted that monarch to cede the two provinces according to agreement, along with his daughter, were only thoſe of political neceſſity. He wiſhed to ſtrengthen himſelf by alliances, as the Romans were now preparing a ſtrong force to invade his territories.

The events which occurred in Aſia at the period we are treating of, were highly diſaſtrous to the power and ambition of Antiochus. The Romans, every where ſucceſsful, circumſcribed the bounds of his empire, and the power of Phillip was now abridged within the ſmall and ancient kingdom of Macedon. With reſpect to the affairs of Egypt, they are principally confined within a narrow compaſs. Ptolemy Epiphanes poſſeſſed no longer the virtues or abilities of his anceſtors; and his reign was a tiſſue of indifferent or criminal actions, intereſting only to the people where they were performed. He indeed renewed the alliance with Achæa, which Philopator cultivated, but the affairs of Greece were now generally under the direction of the Romans. When the Achæan league was moſt powerful, during his reign, he preſented that people with ſix thouſand ſhields and two hundred talents of braſs; but this ſhew of muni-

ficence ſeems to have been excited from no motive, or from a motive which did not deſerve a name.—His exceſſes at home, and the cruelties to his ſubjects, tended to alienate their affections from his government; and a conſpiracy, more formidable and more dangerous than the preceding, was forming for his deſtruction. The principal lords of the kingdom, who were galled with his oppreſſions, and diſguſted with his government, combined in the general plot; and there was every appearance, either of a civil war, or the depoſition of Epiphanes from the throne.

From this particular dilemma, Ptolemy was, however, extricated, by the bravery and abilities of his prime miniſter, Polycrates. That man had ariſen to the command of the army during his father's reign, owing to a ſingular diſplay of military ſkill and perſonal courage at the battle of Raphia, near Gaza, which eſſentially contributed to the victory obtained over Antiochus. He was afterwards appointed governor of Cyprus; and being in Alexandria at the time of Scopas's conſpiracy, he aſſiſted Ariſtomenes in contributing to the preſervation of the ſtate. By his exertions Ptolemy was again delivered from the moſt imminent danger. His addreſs gained over ſeveral of the principals of the cabal; and a promiſe of indemnity induced the whole to capitulate and ſubmit, upon certain conditions. When Ptolemy had thus gained an aſcendancy over the refractory inſurgents, he baſely forfeited his engagements, and

put them all to a cruel and diſhonourable death.—Such perfidious conduct exaſperated the people to an unuſual extremity; and nothing but a ſuperiority of military force, in the hands of Ptolemy, prevented a civil war.

Theſe extremities to which Ptolemy had carried his vindictive meaſures, were but ill calculated to ſecure his eſteem. On the contrary, though they ſilenced popular clamour, they tended alſo to engender ſecret, and therefore more deſperate, enemies.—His political concerns abroad were likewiſe involved in confuſion; and as the death of Antiochus opened freſh occaſion for diſpute with his ſucceſſor Seleucus, reſpecting the ceded provinces, Ptolemy was upon the eve of a war that he was ill prepared to encounter.—However, he had not proceeded far in theſe warlike operations before his ſecret enemies found occaſion to put a period to his life by means of poiſon.

Thus, after a reign of twenty-four years, Ptolemy Epiphanes fell a ſacrifice to his own courtiers, in the twenty-ninth year of his age. This event occurred about 181 years before the Chriſtian æra.

PTOLEMY PHILOMETER.

Upon the death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, his queen, Cleopatra, aſſumed the regency. Their eldeſt ſon, Ptolemy Philometer, was only ſix years old, therefore too young to aſſume the buſineſs of government; but the prudence and ability of his mother amply

atoned for his defect of years. The cares and buſineſs of ſtate were regulated with the circumſpection of a wiſe and judicious ſovereign, and the people were happy during her adminiſtration. The jarring politics of Syria and Egypt were happily attempered by her firm and conciliating policy; and, as ſhe was the mother of Philometer and the ſiſter of Seleucus, her affection and her authority ſmoothed the aſperities of the contending parties.

But a few years made a material difference in the language of the two courts. The demiſe of Seleucus paved the way for the ſucceſſion of his brother, Antiochus Epiphanes; and the unfortunate event of Cleopatra's death placed the regency of the Egyptian crown in the hands of Lenæus, a nobleman of diſtinction, and the ſuperintendency of Philometer's education with the eunuch Eulæus. This change in the adminiſtration ſpeedily led to a rupture betwixt the two kingdoms. Cœlo-Syria and Paleſtine were pertinaciouſly kept poſſeſſion of by the Syrian court, notwithſtanding a contrary agreement entered into by Antiochus the great. On the death of that monarch, they deſcended to Seleucus only by right of conqueſt, and Antiochus Epiphanes claimed them at his brother's death by right of ſucceſſion. The regency now, however, ſent a deputation to demand them as their ſovereign's right, on the refuſal of which, they would appeal to the ſword. The anſwer which the

Egyptian ambaſſadors received was altogether unſatisfactory, and a war now ſeemed inevitable.

Such was the relative ſituation of the Egyptian and Syrian empires, when Ptolemy Philometer was declared of age upon the entrance to his fifteenth year. After a ſplendid coronation, according to the Egyptian cuſtom, he entered upon the functions of a ſovereign, and every preparation was made for a war with his uncle, Antiochus. The Syrian monarch diſpatched Appollonius to congratulate his nephew, Ptolemy, upon his acceſſion to the throne; but the obvious purpoſe of his viſit was to diſcover the deſigns of the Egyptian court reſpecting the provinces in diſpute. On the return of his ambaſſador, Antiochus determined not to await an invaſion, but by a bold meaſure to carry the war into the territories of his antagoniſt, and by that means, inſtead of being himſelf the object of attack, to become the aſſailant. Such a deep ſtroke of policy was reſolved upon, in conſequence of the contemptible opinion he entertained of Ptolemy's youth and abilities, and the weakneſs of his miniſters: And with reſpect to the ſtrict union that ſubſiſted betwixt the Egyptians and the Romans, he conſidered that the latter were too much occupied with the war in Macedon to interrupt his deſigns.

To accommodate meaſures, however, with that people, in caſe they might determine to thwart his views, he diſpatched ambaſſadors to Italy to vindi-

cate his conduct, while he made a rapid march across the desart to penetrate into Egypt. Ptolemy, who anticipated but a few days the daring designs of Antiochus, marched to the frontiers to await his approach. Their mutual strength was soon tried in the event of a battle, wherein the army of Antiochus was victorious, and the posts upon the frontiers of Egypt were, by its result, placed within his power. The army of the victor was at the same time so much weakened, that it was deemed prudent not to venture a further invasion, but to return to Tyre till he received an increase of strength. Thus was the first campaign of Antiochus against Egypt terminated till the ensuing spring.

The winter months were industriously occupied by both the sovereigns in reinforcing their armies, and the returning season witnessed, unfortunately for Egypt and for Ptolemy, the horrors of a disastrous war. Antiochus invaded Egypt both by land and sea, and though he met with a formidable opposition, his arms ultimately prevailed. One bloody decisive battle on the frontiers, enabled him to march without opposition into the interior of the country; and all Egypt, except Alexandria, became the fruits of this second victory. The unusual clemency which he displayed and ordered to be shewn to the conquered, tended effectually to secure the regard of the people, and alienate their affections from his nephew Ptolemy.

The conduct of the Egyptian monarch, upon this reverse of fortune, was pusillanimous in the extreme. The loss of one battle was not endeavoured to be repaired by rallying his troops, or disputing a single post with the enemy: he fled on the approach of personal danger; and, after the defeat, tamely gave himself up, as a prisoner, to his uncle Antiochus. Indefensible as this weakness would seem, yet Justin says, that his behaviour was not so much owing to want of courage and natural capacity, (as he afterwards gave sufficient proofs of both) as the effects of his effeminate education, under Eulæus, his governor.—That eunuch, being the minister of Ptolemy, had used his utmost endeavours to retain him in the habits of effeminate luxury, in order, by his incapacity or indolence in public affairs, to enjoy always such a preponderance in the councils, as to engross the principal power into his own hands.

Antiochus, upon the conquest of Egypt, at first pretended, with the utmost affability, to treat Philometer as his friend, and that it was his interest and his honour only which he consulted by the invasion of the kingdom. The two sovereigns also lived constantly at one table, and Ptolemy was permitted to go where he thought proper, without interruption.—As a counterpoise, however, to these professions, he soon after plundered their temples, and the houses of the principal people throughout the kingdom; and, after lading himself with spoil, he garrisoned Pelu-

ſium, and returned to Antioch. Ptolemy was left at Memphis, as the nominal ſovereign of Egypt, though, in fact, he was governed by the miniſters of Antiochus. —Alexandria, the capital, yet retained its independence; and its principal citizens thought proper, upon this occaſion, after declaring the ſovereignty void, to call Ptolemy Euergetes,* the younger brother of Philometer, to the throne. Cineas and Cumanus were appointed as his miniſters, and the affairs of Egypt began again to aſſume their former flouriſhing appearance.

Antiochus now finding that his reſpect and authority was at an end, that the Alexandrians had deſpiſed his power, and elected a prince, who ruled with abſolute ſway over Egypt, made a third invaſion into the country, under the ſpecious pretence of reſtoring Philometer to the throne. The people of Alexandria having fitted out a fleet, to ſupport that reſpect which was due to their ſovereign, were defeated in a ſea fight, before the Peluſian mouth of the Nile, by the forces of Antiochus. His army, likewiſe, was advancing, with rapid ſtrides, to the capi-

* On this occaſion he had the name of Ptolemy Euergetes II. given him; which was ſoon changed to that of CACERGETES: the former ſignifying BENEFICENT, and the latter MALEVOLENT. —He afterwards was nicknamed PHYSCON, or TUN-BELLIED; becauſe his immoderate eating had made him remarkably corpulent. Moſt hiſtorians mention him under the latter epithet. ROLLIN.

tal, with the intention of beſieging and reducing it by force. Driven, therefore, to the alternative of a ſiege, or unconditional ſubmiſſion to the will of the invader, Eurgetes ſummoned a public council, to conſult reſpecting their ſafety and defence. An embaſſy, compoſed of the principal citizens, and the ambaſſadors from the ſtates of Greece, was appointed to wait upon Antiochus. Peace was ſolicited, and it was promiſed by the Syrian monarch. But the crafty and diſſimulating invader poſtponed finiſhing the treaty of peace, and only urged his own pretenſions to the provinces of Cœlo-Syria and Paleſtine. The ambaſſadors, willing to grant him his own terms, if they could obtain a peace at that diſaſtrous period, coincided and agreed to his holding theſe provinces. Still he delayed a concluſion to the war, upon a variety of pretences, and prepared to march directly to Alexandria. The ambaſſadors, ſeeing no period to trifling and negociating, and that he only waited for a reinforcement, returned to the capital; and Antiochus, with his army, proceeded to Naucratis, and from thence to beſiege Alexandria.

Ptolemy Eurgetes, and his ſiſter Cleopatra, who were both in the city, foreſeeing the moſt diſaſtrous conſequences, ſhould Antiochus get poſſeſſion of Alexandria, diſpatched two confidential friends to Rome, to implore their aſſiſtance. The ambaſſadors, when they approached the Roman ſenate, ſeemed penetrated with the moſt poignant grief. They appeal-

ed to their juſtice, their generoſity, and their friendſhip; and informed them, that, ſhould they not grant them aſſiſtance, Ptolemy and Cleopatra would be reduced to the degrading alternative of flying to Rome for protection, a circumſtance that would be likewiſe moſt diſhonourable to themſelves. The Romans, therefore, ſtimulated as much by their own intereſt, and the fear of Antiochus's aggrandizement, as the deplorable ſituation of Egypt, ſent three Plenipotentiaries to put a period to the war.

While the Roman embaſſy was approaching to Egypt, Antiochus was perſuaded that he could not take Alexandria by force, and wiſhed to adopt a different ſyſtem of attacking Eurgetes. With the pretence of reſtoring Philometer to the crown, he raiſed the ſiege, marched to Memphis, veſted him in appearance with the ſovereignty of the whole kingdom, and, after leaving a ſtrong force in Peluſium, returned to Antioch. Philometer, awakening as from a lethargy, ſaw through the deep deſigns of Antiochus. He now diſcerned that his object was for them mutually to weaken and deſtroy each other, and, when exhauſted, they would both fall an eaſy prey to his rapacity. The poſſeſſion of Peluſium afforded him a ready entrance into Egypt, and he perceived that Antiochus only waited a fit opportunity to put his deſign into execution. Perſuaded of the truth of theſe obſervations, Philometer communicated his ſentiments to his brother in Alexandria, and propoſed coming to

an accommodation. Eurgetes, who ſaw too plainly the propriety of ſuch reaſoning, was perſuaded by his ſiſter Cleopatra to comply with the wiſhes of Philometer. They, therefore, both agreed to forget their former animoſities, and mutually joined to promote the proſperity and happineſs of Egypt, by ſharing together an equality of power.

Antiochus, immediately upon the news of the alliance betwixt the two brothers, threw off the maſk of friendſhip which he had aſſumed, and declared that nothing but the ceſſion of the whole extent of country on the eaſt of the Nile, the city of Peluſium, and the iſland of Cyprus, could purchaſe the tranquillity of Egypt. Such unparalleled effrontery from the uncle of the two kings, and one who had always profeſſed the greateſt anxiety for their welfare, naturally rouzed the reſentment and the indignation of the Egyptians. But Antiochus being poſſeſſed of the principal garriſons on the frontiers, and could overrun, without interruption, the whole of Egypt, expected to procure whatever terms he demanded. With this perſuaſion he invaded Egypt a fourth time, for the purpoſe of ſubjugating the whole kingdom, and with a view of reducing Alexandria. Every place, accordingly, which he viſited with his arms, ſubmitted without a ſtruggle, and the capital itſelf would have ſoon fallen a ſacrifice to his ambition. But as he was marching thither, C. Popilius Lenas, C. Decimus, and C. Hoſtilius, arrived at Alexandria, as ambaſſadors from

Rome, and from thence viſited Antiochus, who was encamped at Eleuſinem, about a mile from the city. On the approach of Popilius, with whom he was formerly acquainted at Rome, the Syrian emperor opened his arms to embrace him as his old friend. The Roman, not conſidering himſelf as a private character, but a ſervant of his country, deſired to know from Antiochus, before he returned his ſalute, whether he ſpoke to him as a friend or an enemy to Rome, at the ſame time handing him the decree of the ſenate reſpecting Egypt. In reply to this firm and determinate queſtion, he ſaid he would examine the contents with his friends, and return an anſwer in a ſhort period of time. Popilius, however, enraged at the king for talking of delays, immediately, with a wand which he held in his hand, drew a circle around Antiochus, and demanded, in a reſolute voice, "an anſwer to the ſenate before he moved beyond it." The Syrian monarch was confounded at ſo haughty and ſo firm an order, but, after a moment's reflection, conſulted his own ſafety by replying that he acquieſced with the ſenate's decree. Popilius then received his civilities, and behaved like an old friend. Thus, by the firm and intrepid bluntneſs of a ſingle Roman, the emperor of Syria was ſtruck with terror, and the kings of Egypt were ſaved from deſtruction.*

* The circumſtance which made the one ſo bold, and the other ſo ſubmiſſive, was the news that arrived, juſt before, of

The Romans, by their mediation, obliged Antiochus to abandon his pretenſions to Cyprus and to any part of Egypt, likewiſe executed a treaty of union betwixt the two brothers. Both powers, upon the adjuſtment of theſe differences, diſpatched ambaſſadors to Rome; the one to ingratiate himſelf with the ſenate, the other to expreſs their gratitude for their ſervices, in delivering them from a troubleſome and powerful invader.

The union which was thus cemented betwixt the two brothers, had every appearance of permanency and mutual happineſs. But the ſeeds of diſcord were imperceptibly ſown, by their reciprocal thirſt after power, and a mutual propenſity to flattery and effeminate grandeur. Vice has no tie upon its actions, and deſires only an opportunity for gratification. It therefore was not improbable that one would cabal for the overthrow of the other, and that mutual forbearance would no longer exiſt, when one brother had the power of the other's deſtruction. Such was the reſult of the joint reign of Philometer and Eurgetes. Six years only elapſed of harmony and peace, when the latter conſpired his elder brother's ruin.—Philometer was either expelled, or, having informa-

the great victory gained by the Romans over Perſeus, king of Macedonia. From that inſtant every thing gave way before them, and the Roman name grew formidable to all princes and nations. ROLLIN.

tion of his danger, escaped into Italy, where he landed at Brundusium; and, in order to excite the compassion of the Romans, proceeded in a miserable condition, on foot, to Rome. The senate, however, was no sooner apprized of his arrival, than every honour due to his distinguished rank was paid him. Two of the principal senators were deputed to reconduct him to Alexandria, and a decree was passed to divide the empire betwixt them. Lybia and Cyrene were ceded to Ptolemy Physcon, surnamed Eurgetes II. Egypt, and the isle of Cyprus, were allotted to Ptolemy Philometer; and each of the brothers was declared independent of the other. These changes were severally ratified, and both confirmed them by the usual oaths and sacrifices.

Quietly as the two Ptolemies submitted, at first, to the decree of the Roman senate, they were soon mutually dissatisfied with the division of the empire. Physcon was displeased with the senate for granting him the government of Lybia and Cyrene alone; and went in person to Rome, to claim possession of Cyprus, in order to be on an equality with his brother. Philometer, on the other hand, complained that Physcon should have been raised to a throne; as, after his restoration, it was solely the effect of his mediation that the public were prevented from gratifying their resentment on Physcon's person, on account of his tyranny and disregard for justice. However, as it was the order of the senate, by whom he was rein-

ſtated in power, he ſubmitted, and acted correſponding to their wiſhes. Theſe complaints and obſervations were mutually urged at Rome, with all the pertinacity and rancour which ambition, or diſappointed pride, could ſuggeſt. The claims of Phyſcon were, however, preferred, and Cyprus was allotted as an appendage to Lybia and Cyrene. His preſence was, perhaps, a more powerful argument with the ſenate, than the voice of Menethyllus, the ambaſſador of Philometer; as he could urge his plea with a *few talents*, a welcome and a powerful plunder at that period in Rome. It was likewiſe the policy of the Roman ſenate to weaken and divide all kingdoms of any extent, that they might be more ſubſervient to their own political intereſts, or be an eaſy prey to to their future rapacity.

This new political arrangement was entruſted to the management of two of the Roman ſenators, and a plan was concerted to accommodate meaſures with Ptolemy Philometer, on the frontiers of Egypt. The news of the ſenate's decree, to deprive him of Cyprus, was received with diſpleaſure and regret; and, after conſiderable diſcuſſion, he refuſed, on a variety of pretexts, to ratify, by treaty, the new partition which was required. In caſe, however, the Romans perſiſted in their determination, Philometer took ſecret meaſures in Cyprus, Lybia, and Cyrene, to defeat the ambitious projects of his brother. The popularity in which he was held, in conſequence of the very

oppoſite diſpoſition and character of Phyſcon, tended, in a great meaſure, to promote his views; and ſuch a ſtrong intereſt prevailed in his favour in Cyrene, that it was only by force of arms that his brother re-eſtabliſhed himſelf in that province.

During the ſtruggle with the mal-contents to obtain poſſeſſion of Cyrene, Ptolemy Phyſcon complained loudly againſt his brother to the Roman ſenate. By means of the return of the two ambaſſadors who had accompanied him, in order to get poſſeſſion of Cyprus, he made ſuch a powerful impreſſion on their minds, both by accuſing Philometer of the cauſe of the inſurrection, and repreſenting, in ſtrong colours, the ſtubbornneſs with which he refuſed to evacuate Cyprus, that they declared the alliance with Egypt void, and ordered the ambaſſadors to quit Rome in five days. But, before their departure, Phyſcon himſelf arrived in the Roman capital. He had ſcarcely quelled the inſurgents in Cyrene, when a conſpiracy was formed againſt him, and he had nearly fallen a ſacrifice to their reſentment. He eſcaped, however, with life, and appeared before the ſenate covered with wounds; the cauſe of which he, with great vehemence, attributed to his brother. The Romans, who poſſeſſed an abhorrence to any thing extraordinary baſe, or cruel, gave too much credit to the infamous aſſeverations of Phyſcon. The character of Philometer, which was naturally benevolent and humane, was thus groſsly traduced,

without the means of vindication; particularly as his ambaſſadors were denied a hearing, and were likewiſe poſſeſſed of no information or inſtructions whereby juſtice might be obtained. The reſentment of the ſenate againſt the Egyptian monarch was, by this means, rouſed to an unuſual pitch, and the ambaſſadors were ordered to leave Rome immediately.——Five commiſſioners were delegated from the ſenate to eſtabliſh Ptolemy Phyſcon in Cyprus, and the allies of the Romans in the eaſt were inſtructed to lend the neceſſary aid for that purpoſe.

Ptolemy Philometer being apprized of the meaſures which had been concerted at Rome, haſtened to Cyprus, to place that iſland in a poſture of defence. An army was likewiſe raiſed by his brother, that was deemed ſufficient to wreſt it from his power. However, though Phyſcon made a ſucceſsful landing, he was ſoon completely defeated, and, after undergoing a ſiege for ſome time in Lapitho, was at length compelled to ſurrender to Philometer. Now had the brother an opportunity of revenge for all the injuries which had been unremittingly heaped upon him! But mark the benevolence and generoſity of his character! He not only without reſerve forgave him for paſt miſconduct, but reinſtated him in the provinces of Lybia and Cyrene, and added ſome advantageous ſubſtitute as a compenſation for Cyprus. Such extraordinary clemency not only put a period to the quarrels betwixt them, but the Romans, aſhamed of hav-

ing been duped into a bad opinion of his diſpoſition, paid him that homage of eſteem which he merited, and no longer oppoſed his meaſures.

Peace and tranquillity now aſſumed their reign in Egypt and the provinces, and continued ſo for the ſpace of twelve years, the remaining period of Philometer's reign. The criminal revolutions, however, which occurred in the Syrian empire, provoked his benevolent temper to join in alliance with ſeveral of the princes in Aſia, by which theſe political evils might be remedied. On the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, his ſon Eupator ſucceeded to the government of Syria; but Demetrius Soter took advantage of his couſin's unpopularity to ſubvert his throne. The crimes and extreme depravity of the ſucceſſor to Eupator, impelled Alexander Bala, a young adventurer, to raiſe an army in oppoſition to his power, the efforts of which were ſo ſucceſsful, as in one deciſive battle to kill Demetrius, and uſurp the throne of Syria. Raiſed by that event to the dignified ſituation of a crown, he ſolicited and obtained the daughter of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, in marriage. Upon the celebration of the nuptials, Philometer went in perſon to Ptolemais, and a union was eſtabliſhed betwixt the two kingdoms, which promiſed more duration than any preceding alliance. But the character of this miſſion of fortune became ſo abandoned, and the inſolence and cruelty of his miniſters became ſo great, that he outraged even the

iniquities and exceſſes of his predeceſſors. Demetrius Nicator, the ſon of Demetrius Soter, began, when arrived at the age of maturity, to plot Alexander's deſtruction; and the impropriety of this adventurer's conduct ſoon raiſed a formidable army to his antagoniſt, ſufficient to hurl him from the giddy eminence. In this diſtreſs he applied to the ſovereign of Egypt; and the large army which Ptolemy marched, in perſon, to his aſſiſtance, would have effectually ſupported his tottering dignity. But even in this extreme danger he was plotting the deſtruction of his beſt friend. A conſpiracy was diſcovered, formed by his miniſter, and directed againſt Philometer's life; the object of which was, no doubt, with a view to have a more unlimited authority over his army. The traitor was demanded to be delivered up, but Alexander refuſed; and Ptolemy, concluding, from this delicacy to a great criminal, that he was a principal conſpirator himſelf, immediately abandoned his alliance, took his daughter from him by force, gave her in marriage to Demetrius, and aſſiſted that prince in reaſcending his father's throne. The people of Antioch, upon this occaſion, ſhewed ſuch a great eſteem for the character of Ptolemy Philometer, that they invited him to the ſovereignty of Syria; but he declined the precarious honour, by ſaying, "that his own dominions were ſufficient to employ all his care and attention."

After Alexander was baniſhed from Antioch, he endeavoured to raiſe an army in Cilicia, to diſpute

the ſovereignty with Demetrius. With theſe forces he marched againſt Demetrius and Ptolemy, and put all to fire and ſword as he advanced to the capital of Syria. The two armies ſoon terminated the diſpute. Alexander experienced a great defeat; and he fled precipitately, with five hundred horſe, to Zabdiel, an Arabian prince, with whom he entruſted his children. Contrary, however, to the character of the Arabians for hoſpitality, that prince baſely murdered his royal viſitor, and ſent a preſent of his head to Philometer. It is ſaid that the ſovereign of Egypt diſplayed a malignant joy at the ſight of his enemy's head; but this happineſs of Ptolemy (if the report be true) was of ſhort duration; for he died a few days after this event of the wounds he received in the battle with Alexander.—Thus terminated the life of Ptolemy Philometer, at the age of 41, after a reign of 35 years, the greateſt part of which was diſtracted with family and political diſſentions, and four different invaſions of his kingdoms. The event of his death occurred about 145 years before Chriſt.

PTOLEMY PHYSCON.

Like the preceding reigns, the ſucceſſion to the Egyptian crown, owing to ſeveral competitors, was attended with many difficulties. Cleopatra, the ſiſter and widow of Philometer, immediately, on the death of her huſband, aſſumed the regency, till her ſon (who was yet a minor) became of age. But the unwar-

rantable ambition of Ptolemy Physcon defeated her views, and that of the regular succession. Though this prince was sovereign of Lybia and Cyrene, his restless and vicious mind, still uneasy, was solicitous to obtain the kingdom of Egypt. On the death of his brother, he immediately instituted a claim to the crown, by means of his minions at Alexandria. In this dilemma, the anxiety of a mother induced Cleopatra to solicit an army of Jews to support her pretensions; but the presence of Thurmus, a Roman ambassador, at the Egyptian court, compromised the existing differences. Physcon and Cleopatra were to be united in marriage, and the son of Philometer was to ascend the throne on his uncle's death. Such an arrangement seemed wisely calculated to promote peace and tranquillity in the family of Ptolemy; but the brutality of Physcon defeated the beneficent purposes that were originally intended. On the day of his nuptials with Cleopatra, he took possession of the throne; and, on that very day, he stabbed the son of Philometer in his mother's arms.

Such a bloody commencement to Ptolemy Physcon's reign, foreboded no great happiness to himself, or peace to his subjects. In mitigation of his conduct, however, it may be offered, that the same base and unprincipled measures seem to have prevailed in the neighbouring kingdoms. Plots, usurpations, and assassinations, were so frequent, that the people were grown callous to the cruelties and conspiracies of

their ſovereigns; and any adventurer, who was plauſible and profuſe in his promiſes, ſpeedily fomented a party to uſurp a province, if not to depoſe their king. In theſe fluctuations of government, Syria was moſt conſpicuous. Demetrius Nicator was ſupplanted by the ſon of the late Alexander Bala, and Diodotus Tryphon, the principal miniſter of this young prince, uſurped his place by aſſaſſination. During theſe frequent revolutions, the Jews, who were ſubjected to the Syrian empire ſince the time of Antiochus the Great, were grievous ſufferers. They were ſucceſſively cajoled, duped, and tyrannized over; and were never treated like any other nation, till they gathered courage from deſpair, and heroically threw off the yoke, under their leader, Jonathan. From their brave defence, and independent condnct afterwards, they became the moſt important ally of either the Syrian or Egyptian nations, till they acquired the notice of the Romans, when they were treated as a regular ſtate.

By theſe commotions in Syria, Ptolemy Phyſcon enjoyed the firſt ſeven years of his reign, in purſuing one continued round of criminal feſtivity and abominable cruelties, without interruption. His conduct was as contemptible as it was vicious; and while he ſaid and acted in public the phantaſies and extravagancies of a child, he incurred the contempt and abhorrence of all men. His prime miniſter, Hierax, who was the miniſter at the court of Alexander Bala,

was a principal means of reſtraining the people's indignation, elſe he would have undoubtedly been dethroned. After the revolution in Syria, which occaſioned the death of Alexander, Hierax retired to Egypt, where his abilities gained him the command of the army. Soon after, he was appointed miniſter to Phyſcon; and, from his juſtice to the poor and equity to the rich, by reſtoring diſcipline to the Egyptian army, by redreſſing public grievances, and amending the faults which his ſovereign daily commited, he preſerved the peace and tranquillity of the ſtate. However, his death or removal ſpeedily made a change in the face of public affairs.

The folly and cruelties of Phyſcon were no longer reſtrained, by his miniſter's abilities, or a dread of public abhorrence. He wantonly put to death, or baniſhed, all the principal citizens of Alexandria who were either zealous for his own or his brother's family; and permitted the foreign ſoldiers in his ſervice to plunder and murder the inhabitants of the city without diſcrimination or mercy. Such extreme barbarity, without any apparent motive, muſt impreſs the mind with the greateſt horror againſt this monſter's character. The terrified inhabitants ſeeing no end to his cruelties, retired into the interior of the kingdom, or into foreign countries, to avoid the tyranny of his government. Alexandria was, by this means, converted into a deſart.—With the abſurdity peculiar to his reign, when all the people were fled, he cauſed proclamations to

be publiſhed in the adjoining countries, inviting ſtrangers to his capital, by offering them empty houſes, and ſeveral other immunities and rewards. By this means he repeopled the capital, but the inhabitants conſiſted principally of the pooreſt or the moſt abandoned of mankind.

Tyrannical and baſe as theſe cruelties were, which Ptolemy Phyſcon perpetrated, the world, at the ſame time, received one material advantage from their conſequences. It will be recollected, that the Alexandrian Muſeum, which was founded by Ptolemy Soter, continually increaſed under the reign of his two ſubſequent ſucceſſors, and the moſt learned men of all nations were invited into Egypt by their munificence. The ſcenes of anarchy and commotion which prevailed in Greece tended alſo to baniſh her beſt ſcholars and philoſophers from their native country, and they took refuge in Alexandria, where their abilities were patronized and rewarded. The learning of the age was, by this means, concentrated in Egypt, and abſolutely neglected in every other part of the world. When Ptolemy Phyſcon, therefore, with the conduct of a barbarian, baniſhed the inhabitants from Alexandria, an immenſe number of literary men and philoſophers were included in the general proſcription. —Theſe ſcientific fugitives, by that means, carried their learning and knowledge, as their only fortune, into the countries where they viſited. The arts and ſciences conſequently revived wherever they went,

as they were literally compelled to follow public-inſtruction as an employment. Thoſe countries which experienced the greateſt advantages from their learning were, Aſia Minor, the iſlands in the Archipelago, and the ſtates of Greece; ſo that thoſe parts of the world which originally communicated their philoſophy to Egypt, received the ſame in return, with conſiderable improvement, at the diſtance of a century.

Soon after Alexandria began to be repeopled by the ſtrangers who flocked thither, P. Scipio, Africanus the younger, Sp. Mummius, and L. Metellus, arrived as ambaſſadors from Rome. The frequent viſits of Roman ambaſſadors to the Eaſtern courts were adopted by that people, in order to obſerve a ſtrict adherence to the principles of their alliance, to take cognizance of their affairs, and to accommodate differences betwixt the neighbouring nations, in order to prevent any undue aggrandizement of power by conqueſts, or improper confederacies. With theſe views did the four ambaſſadors, who were men of the greateſt talents and character in Rome, arrive in Egypt; and from thence they were to proceed to Syria, Aſia, and Greece, to diſcharge the objects of their miſſion, by watching their political conduct, and preventing them from acting inconſiſtently with the intereſts of Rome.

On their arrival in Alexandria, Ptolemy Phyſcon received them with great magnificence, though the deportment of theſe Romans was humble and unaf-

ſected. The vicious character of the king of Egypt ſoon diſplayed itſelf, but his cruelties and barbarities did not operate againſt the intereſts of the ſenate. On the contrary, they tended to weaken and deſtroy the political ſtrength of the country, alienate the affections of the people from their attachment to their ſovereigns, and would conſequently induce them to adhere, at any future period, to the government of the Romans. They, however, could not help relating to their countrymen, on their return, the ſentiments which they entertained of the Egyptian ſovereign. The deformity of his body exactly correſponded with the turpitude of his mind. His ſtature was dwarfiſh, and his belly ſo protuberant, as not to be ſpanned round with extended arms. His large *abdomen* occaſioned the epithet of *Phyſcon*, implying *tun-bellied*; and, to add to the diſagreeableneſs of his perſon, he wore ſo tranſparent a covering, that his deformity was plainly ſeen. He went ſeldom out, but in a chariot, in which he was compelled to ride, owing to his extreme bulk; ſo that when Scipio, one of the ambaſſadors, was walking with him on foot in the city, the Roman humourouſly obſerved to his companion Panetius, the philoſopher, that "the Alexandrians were obliged to them for ſeeing their king walk on foot."

When the ambaſſadors had finiſhed their buſineſs with Ptolemy at Alexandria, and had ſurveyed the baths, the monuments, and other remarkable curi-

ositities, they sailed up the Nile, to visit Memphis, and examine the interior of Egypt. Their report of the country was flattering in the extreme, and no doubt founded the project of the senate in making it a Roman province. The immense number of cities, and the great multitude of inhabitants, excited their astonishment; but the extraordinary richness and fertility of the soil, more than amply balanced the demands of its remarkable population. The natural abundance and strength of Egypt was such, that they evidently discovered it wanted nothing but a government which was active and enterprizing, to render it formidable and powerful. It had not enjoyed such a government as it required, since the days of Ptolemy Eurgetes I. and the political strength of the kingdom was now verging to destruction.

At the period we are treating of, new commotions ravaged the Syrian empire from one corner to the other; and, as if the personal conduct of Ptolemy Physcon was regulated by the distractions which prevailed in his neighbourhood, he became odious to his family, to his subjects, and to all the world. Cleopatra, the widow of Philometer, was the sole means by which he gained the throne; but he basely rewarded her, by murdering her infant son on the day of their marriage. To add to the enormity of his ingratitude, a few years afterwards, he contracted a violent passion for one of her daughters by Philometer, and after forcibly violating her chastity, he repu-

diated the mother Cleopatra in diſguſt, and eſpouſed her daughter as his queen. The new inhabitants of Alexandria alſo, who were ſoon diſguſted with the brutal tyranny of Phyſcon, began to alarm him on account of their reſentment to his atrocities. To remove, however, his terrors, he determined to maſſacre all the young men in the city who were capable of bearing arms. For this purpoſe, he collected his foreign troops, and, during a large aſſemblage of the people, the whole concourſe were ſurrounded, and deliberately put to death by the mercenary ſoldiers. The whole city was immediately in uproar; the loſs of a ſon, a brother, or a father, was the lot of almoſt every individual; they ran to the palace, and, in one voice, demanded vengeance on their oppreſſor. The tyrant, however, eſcaped from popular indignation, by immediately ſetting ſail to Cyprus, where he carried his wife Cleopatra, and Memphitis, the ſon of a former marriage.

Soon after his arrival at Cyprus, Phyſcon was informed that Cleopatra, his repudiated queen, and the widow of his deceaſed brother, had been raiſed to the throne of Egypt by the Alexandrians. Immediately upon this intelligence, he formed an army of Cypriots, in order to march againſt the new queen and her adherents. But being apprehenſive that his eldeſt ſon, whom he appointed to ſucceed him in the government of Lybia and Cyrene, might be preferred to the throne, he deſired him to come to Cyprus to his fa-

ther's aſſiſtance. No ſooner, however, did he arrive, than Phyſcon put him immediately to death. This freſh inſtance of barbarity, which aroſe totally from his own cowardly imagination, again provoked the reſentment of the people to an unuſual extent. They pulled down and daſhed his ſtatues to pieces, which were erected in Alexandria, and eraſed every monument which could contribute to his fame. Phyſcon, upon receiving this information of the people's rage, attributed the whole to Cleopatra their queen. To revenge himſelf, therefore, for this mark of her indignation, and the public contempt, he cruelly murdered his ſon Memphitis, who was the fruit of their marriage. This prince poſſeſſed an amiable diſpoſition, with an elegant perſon, and, as he was the ſon of the late queen of Philometer, had gained the eſteem and affections of the people, though yet a boy. After his death, Phyſcon, with the ſpirit of a monſter, cauſed his body to be cut to pieces, thrown into a cheſt, with the head only entire, for the purpoſe of being perfectly known, and ſent it by one of his guards as a preſent to Cleopatra. This horrid ſpectacle was not to be offered till the birth-day of that princeſs, which was approaching, and was intended to be celebrated with unuſual magnificence. The orders of Phyſcon were pointedly obeyed. The cheſt was delivered in the midſt of their rejoicings, and being immediately opened, their joy was inſtantly converted into mourning. The horror which was

excited at the ſight of the mangled carcaſe cannot be expreſſed. The cool perpetration of ſuch an unnatural crime, raiſed alſo a fixed and univerſal deteſtation in the minds of the public towards its author. The mangled remains of the prince, whom they eſteemed, were expoſed to public view; and ſuch was the indignation which it produced, that the citizens, who were apprized of Phyſcon's invaſion, immediately flew to arms, and thought of nothing but the means of preventing that monſter from reaſcending the throne. An army was ſpeedily formed of zealous but undiſciplined troops, the command of which was given to Marſyas; and every precaution that immediate danger could ſuggeſt, was adopted for the public defence.

Ptolemy Phyſcon, who had raiſed an army of foreigners, entruſted its command to Hegelochus, an experienced, though an unprincipled general, and with theſe forces cauſed Egypt to be immediately invaded. A battle, ſoon after, decided the fate of the kingdom. Marſyas, with his troops, made a ſtrong and determined reſiſtance; but diſcipline prevailed over valour; and after the Egyptian army was almoſt cut to pieces, their general was himſelf taken priſoner. Cleopatra, reduced to the alternative of ſubmiſſion, or making a deſperate reſiſtance, applied for aſſiſtance to her ſon-in-law, Demetrius, who was king of Syria; and promiſed him the crown of Egypt, as a reward for his ſervices, if he was ſucceſsful in de-

feating Phyſcon. The ambition of Demetrius prompted him to accept the invitation of the queen, and he marched immediately in perſon to her aſſiſtance.—He had ſcarcely, however, approached Peluſium, when a conſpiracy in his own dominions obliged him to return. The unfortunate Cleopatra, thus ſuddenly deprived of his aid, determined rather to become a voluntary exile, than ſubmit to the power of her tyrannical antagoniſt. She embarked, therefore, for Syria, and took refuge with her daughter and Demetrius in Ptolemais.

The enemies of Ptolemy Phyſcon being thus effectually cruſhed, the army penetrated, without reſiſtance, to Alexandria, and he again took poſſeſſion of the throne. Policy and his own intereſt now began to change the principles of his government. He had, by his cruelty, become univerſally deteſted; and he perceived, that, without an alteration in his conduct, he could not retain poſſeſſion of what he had gained by force. The firſt inſtance of lenity which he diſplayed, was in the pardon of Marſyas, who had been ſent, by Hegelochus, as a priſoner in chains to him while in Cyprus; and afterwards, by granting him his liberty. Perceiving that he gained popularity by the adoption of theſe principles, he purſued the ſame line of conduct when he reaſſumed the throne.—However, this ſhew of beneficence could not eradicate his reſentment to Demetrius for oppoſing his views on the crown of Egypt.

As a kind of retaliation, he took advantage of that monarch's unpopularity with his ſubjects, to advance to the throne of Syria an obſcure impoſtor, called Alexander Zebina, ſon of a broker in Alexandria. To give a colour of juſtice to his claims, the young man pretended to be the ſon of the late Alexander Bala, who was dethroned by Demetrius and Ptolemy Philometer. The people had been previouſly prepared for revolt by the tyranny of Demetrius; and when this adventurer raiſed the ſtandard of inſurrection, he was ſoon ſupported by numbers, without an examination of his claims or his pretenſions. The troops which Ptolemy Phyſcon lent him, with the numerous inſurgents that joined his army, ſpeedily accelerated the ruin of Demetrius, and a ſingle battle terminated his power. The death of that prince ſoon after happened at Tyre, and his queen Cleopatra and the pretender Zebina made a diviſion of the Syrian empire. Cleopatra's unbounded ambition prompted her to exclude her eldeſt ſon Seleucus from being ſovereign, and, in the ſtruggle to obtain the ſupremacy, ſhe removed his claims by the point of the dagger. Antiochus Grypus, the youngeſt ſon of Demetrius, was then nominally raiſed by Cleopatra to the crown, but ſhe ſtill wiſhed to retain the power of government in her own hands. The ambitious ſpirit of Antiochus could not calmly be curbed, ſo as to comply with her demands; and ſhe therefore meditated his ruin. However, a draught of poiſon, which ſhe had prepared for

him, put a period to her own life; and ſhe died, loaded with crimes, in the ſame ſnare ſhe had laid for her ſon. By this means the power of the Syrian empire remained in the hands of Antiochus Grypus and Alexander Zebina.

Ptolemy Phyſcon, who had re-eſtabliſhed himſelf in Alexandria, partly by force, and partly by aſſuming the appearance of lenity, conſidered that Zebina had owed his elevation entirely to the army with which he aſſiſted him. With this perſuaſion he expected that Zebina would have paid him homage upon his acceſſion to the crown. However, that adventurer's intoxication with power could not be ſo far humbled as to induce him to honour his original patron as his preſent protector; he therefore peremptorily refuſed to acknowledge the obligation he owed to Phyſcon. The haughty monarch of Egypt could not brook ſuch a neglect of former ſervices, and determined to hurl him from the eminence with the ſame rapidity he was advanced. After accommodating the differences with Antiochus Grypus, reſpecting his former conduct, he, conjointly with that young prince, took up arms to diſpoſſeſs the vain Zebina of his power. Upon this occaſion he gave Antiochus his daughter Tryphena in marriage, and a treaty of union was entered into betwixt the two ſovereigns. This alliance brought about the deſtruction of Zebina. He was defeated, and obliged to retire to Antioch; but, expecting to plunder the

temple of Jupiter in that city, he was preparing to raiſe a numerous army to continue the war. His deſign was, however, detected and defeated; and the enraged populace, in defence of their religion, expelled him the city. He was compelled afterwards to wander, like an outcaſt, from one retreat to another, till he was at length ſeized by the minions of Grypus, and paid the forfeit of his ambition by an untimely death.

Such was the fate of this child of fortune. Raiſed and depreſſed by the unprincipled meaſures of Ptolomy Phyſcon, Zebina enjoyed the ſmiles of proſperity only to experience the pangs of an adverſe fate with more ſeverity. The monarch of Egypt, however, did not long congratulate himſelf upon the ſucceſs of his iniquitous career. Five years only after this event did he reign in Egypt, till the arm of death paralyzed his power, and laid his greatneſs in the duſt. His criminal and tyrannical reign continued 29 years from the death of his brother, and his life terminated 117 years before the Chriſtian æra.

CLEOPATRA AND PTOLEMY LATHYRUS.

The demiſe of Ptolemy Phyſcon, while it delivered Egypt from one tyrant, expoſed the country again to all the diſaſters of a diſputed ſucceſſion, embittered by the reſentment of an oppreſſed people. The ſurviving ſons of Phyſcon were Appion, Lathyrus, and Alexander. The former, an illegitimate, though the eldeſt ſon, had bequeathed to him the province of

Cyrene; while Cleopatra, the mother of the latter two, had Egypt and its dependencies left her by will, with the liberty of chuſing either of her ſons as her coadjutor on the throne, and the rejected ſon to have the iſland of Cyprus.

Theſe regulations, though plauſible, promiſed no long duration. Cleopatra was ambitious, and wiſhed to rule with an uncontrouled ſway; ſhe, therefore, elected her youngeſt ſon, Alexander, as her aſſociate on the throne. The principal nobility, however, objected to her choice, and obliged the queen to recal Lathyrus from Cyprus, whither he had been baniſhed during his father's lifetime, in order to fill the office of ſovereign, as his natural birth-right. Lathyrus was accordingly recalled, and Alexander was deputed in his ſtead to Cyprus; but her authority was ſo ſuperlative, that ſhe compelled him to repudiate his eldeſt ſiſter, whom he had married according to the Egyptian law, and eſpouſe Selena, his youngeſt ſiſter, for whom he had not the ſmalleſt eſteem. Such was the commencement of the reign of Cleopatra and Ptolemy Lathyrus.*

Cleopatra, the repudiated wife of Lathyrus, upon intelligence of her mother's conduct, gained the army

* At his coronation, he took the title of Soter. Some authors give him that of Philometer; but the generality of hiſtorians diſtinguiſh him by the name of Lathyrus, owing to ſome mark upon his face like a pea. However, as that is but a kind of nick-name, nobody dared to give it him in his own time. ROLLIN.

of Cyprus to her intereſt, and with an ultimate, though deſperate view of doing herſelf juſtice, married Antiochus of Cyzicum, who was diſputing the crown of Syria with his brother Grypus. The army which ſhe carried to his aſſiſtance, rendered his power equally formidable with that of Grypus; and though ſhe loſt her life in the ſtruggle, her political ſagacity gained her huſband an equal diviſion of the Syrian empire.—During theſe violent contentions for power, the Jews under Hyrcanus, who had hitherto gained great conſequence by their independence and their valour, took advantage of the public commotions, by extending their dominions, and ſubjugating the Samaritans. The city of Samaria, however, checked their progreſs, and while in a ſtate of ſiege, the inhabitants ſolicited aſſiſtance from Antiochus of Cyzicum. In attempting to raiſe the ſiege, that prince was defeated with immenſe ſlaughter by the Jews, and Hyrcanus, with his army, again inveſted the city, with the determined reſolution of ſubjecting it to his power. Reduced to a ſtate of deſpair, the Samaritans ſent a ſecond embaſſy to Ptolemy Lathyrus, to implore his aſſiſtance. An army of 6,000 Egyptians was in conſequence ſent to their aſſiſtance; but the treachery of their general Ephicrates, inſtead of ſerving the beſieged, baſely betrayed their confidence, by delivering ſeveral places to their enemy, and which ultimately forced them to ſurrender their city to Hyrcanus, after a twelve months' ſiege.

It requires little diſcrimination to diſcover the ſecret cauſes of the treachery of Ephicrates. Cleopatra violently oppoſed the meaſures of Lathyrus her coadjutor; and her favourites and miniſters, Chelcias and Ananias, were both Jews. Theſe two men were the ſons and ſucceſſors of Onias, a prieſt, who, from motives of jealouſy and pride, had erected a Jewiſh temple in Egypt, where the rites and ceremonies of that church were performed with a ſimilar degree of pomp as in their own country. Having, therefore, gained popularity with Cleopatra, the ambition of the two miniſters was gratified, in rendering their country ſuch eſſential aſſiſtance, as to defeat the deſigns of Lathyrus, who wiſhed to give aſſiſtance to the Samaritans.

The ſecret machinations of the two miniſters, with the extravagant views of Cleopatra, ſpeedily led to a rupture betwixt the queen and Lathyrus. His unſuſpicious mind enabled her to carry on deſigns towards his deſtruction of which he was not aware, and the inſidious policy of her Jewiſh favourites completed his overthrow. The minions of Cleopatra ſecretly wounded ſome of the moſt eſteemed eunuchs belonging to Lathyrus, and produced them in this mangled condition to a large aſſembly of the Alexandrians. Her object for this barbarity was with the view of ruining Lathyrus. She accuſed him of cruelty to his wife Selena, and aſſerted that the wounds which the eunuchs had received were in defending her from his

violence. With theſe accuſations, and ſeveral other inflammatory reports, the reſentment of the people were raiſed to an unuſual extent. The life of Lathyrus was demanded by the unruly mob, and it was with difficulty he avoided their indignation, by precipitately eſcaping from Alexandria to Cyprus. The malevolent purpoſe of Cleopatra being thus obtained, ſhe called her youngeſt ſon, Alexander, to the throne; and Lathyrus eſtabliſhed himſelf in Cyprus without oppoſition.

The events which followed this iniquitous quarrel betwixt Lathyrus and Cleopatra, were mutually diſhonourable and calamitous. The former engaged in the political occurrences and ambitious projects that were carrying on in Syria, and the latter became decidedly hoſtile to every meaſure he purſued. Alexander, the ſucceſſor of Hyrcanus to the government of the Jews, marched againſt Ptolemais, with the view of extending his power in the eaſt, by the acquiſition of that important fortreſs. In this perilous ſituation, the inhabitants requeſted the aid of Lathyrus; but he had no ſooner approached the city, with a determination to raiſe the ſiege, than they became jealous of his integrity, and refuſed him admiſſion within their walls. His pride upon this occaſion was injured, and he made overtures of peace to Alexander, the Hebrew general. In the negociation of a treaty with him, Lathyrus diſcovered a ſecret correſpondence, by which the Jewiſh chief and his

mother Cleopatra were conſpiring his deſtruction, and the annihilation of his power. On the point of being betrayed on all hands, by his pretended friends and open enemies, Lathyrus concerted meaſures for his ſafety, and meditated the puniſhment of Alexander and the inhabitants of Ptolemais. The approach of winter gave him time and opportunity to reinforce his army, and the iſland of Cyprus and the city of Gaza ſupplied him with a number of excellent troops. Thus in a ſituation to commence hoſtilities, he divided his forces into two armies; one of which he gave the command of to an experienced general, for the purpoſe of beſieging Ptolemais, and with the other he marched in perſon againſt Alexander. The Jewiſh army experienced a diſaſtrous defeat, and, beſides an immenſe number which Lathyrus took priſoners, they experienced a loſs of 30,000 men, who were killed.

Such is the ſtatement of Joſephus, the hiſtorian of the Jews; but with the patriotic jealouſy of a native Hebrew, he villifies the character of Ptolemy Lathyrus, by accuſing him of extreme cruelty to his countrymen, who, by the event of this battle, were ſubjected to his power. The villages in which he took up his quarters the night after this victory, were ſaid to be cruelly ſacked, and their inhabitants inhumanly maſſacred. To add to this horrid picture, their bodies were cut in pieces, and boiled in cauldrons, as if the army had been cannibals, and had intended to ſup-

upon them. The deſign which Joſephus attributes to this extraordinary conduct, was with the view of terrifying the country into ſubmiſſion, under the idea that the army ſubſiſted upon human fleſh. But the action is too barbarous to be conceived probable; and we cannot help aſcribing it either to the motive above alluded to, or to ſome diſtorted report exaggerated by the hiſtorian.

Lathyrus continued the career of his ſucceſſes, and Alexander, the commander of the Jews, appeared inevitably ruined. Cleopatra, however, perceiving that the acquiſition of Judea and Phenicia to the power of Lathyrus would tend to her own deſtruction, ſpeedily arreſted his progreſs. Her two Jewiſh miniſters, Chelcias and Ananias, were each appointed to the command of an army; and while the former marched to the aſſiſtance of Alexander, the latter, accompanied by Cleopatra, embarked with a fleet to Phenicia, for the purpoſe of compelling Lathyrus to raiſe the ſiege of Ptolemais. The troops which inveſted that city retired, upon her approach, into Cœlo-Syria, and joined the forces of Lathyrus, while ſhe beſieged that important fortreſs herſelf; and Chelcias was ordered by Cleopatra to purſue the army of her antagoniſt. The Jewiſh general Chelcias, whatever abilities he poſſeſſed, as miniſter to Cleopatra, diſplayed none as a ſoldier. He was defeated, with the loſs of his own life; and the expedition was not only fruitleſs, but calamitous to its

author. The diſaſter which Cleopatra experienced in this defeat, was, however, balanced by the acquiſition of Ptolemais. Her ambition was flattered by this acceſſion to her power, and ſhe perceived that the conqueſt of Judea would be eaſily obtained.——That project was, however, abandoned by the influence of the Jew Annias, and Alexander was reinſtated in his former poſſeſſions.

Upon the victory which Ptolemy Lathyrus obtained over the army of Chelcias, he took advantage of the confuſion that their defeat occaſioned, to make a ſudden irruption into Egypt. The hope of meeting with little oppoſition, and of regaining the crown, induced him to this determination, as Cleopatra had carried her beſt troops into Phenicia. His hopes were, however, fruſtrated. A ſtrong force guarded the frontiers; and Lathyrus was kept in check till reinforcements were detached into Egypt. After an ineffectual ſtruggle, he was obliged to return to Gaza with his army, where he quartered during the winter. Thus were the views and the exertions of Lathyrus checked and defeated, in every direction, by his mother Cleopatra. Seeing, therefore, no rational proſpect, at that time, of eſtabliſhing himſelf either in Cœlo-Syria, Phenicia, or Paleſtine, or the recovery of the crown, he withdrew his forces into Cyprus; and ſoon afterwards Cleopatra, having no enemy to encounter with, followed his example, by retiring into Egypt.

Ptolemy Lathyrus, by abandoning his late plan of warfare, did not, however, desist from his exertions to dethrone his mother Cleopatra. On the contrary, he entered into an alliance with Antiochus, of Cyzicum, and, with his assistance, prepared an expedition against Egypt. The queen was no sooner informed of this coalition, than she made advances to Antiochus Grypus, and, by means of giving him her daughter Selena in marriage, whom she had formerly wrested from Lathyrus by unjustifiable means; and, by supplying him with troops and money, she entered into an alliance with him against his brother, for the purpose of preventing that prince rendering Lathyrus any essential assistance. The diversion which she planned succeeded, and Lathyrus, for want of the aid with which Antiochus, of Cyzicum, intended to supply him, was obliged to abandon his design of an invasion.

Ptolemy Alexander, who nominally reigned jointly with Cleopatra, and who seems to have been possessed of a good and generous heart, took the singular resolution, about the period we are treating of, to retire from the pomp and pageantry of the court, to a quiet and secure situation in private life. He was prompted to this undertaking from the criminal ambition of his mother, and the unjustifiable measures she pursued respecting his brother Lathyrus. He would no longer justify, by his presence, her vindictive and unprincipled conduct, nor would he partici-

pate in the danger which her oppreſſions upon the people daily expoſed him to. In this retirement he did not long continue, when he was requeſted and ſolicited to return. The Alexandrians, knowing his character, promiſed and engaged to ſupport his dignity and prerogative. At their preſſing ſolicitations he, therefore, ventured to return to the capital, and afterwards enjoyed the proſpect of regulating the affairs of government with honour to himſelf and advantage to the public.

Soon after his return to Alexandria, an occurrence of a peculiar nature happened in Cyrene. Ptolemy Appion, the eldeſt ſon of Phyſcon, who had been appointed by his father the ſovereign of Cyrenaica, died without iſſue, and bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans. Such a meaſure, though it gives us but a mean idea of their notions of juſt government or rational liberty, at the ſame time proves, in what fearful awe, mixed perhaps with ſome portion of eſteem, the Roman name was at this time held.—From a motive of policy, the ſenate of Rome, inſtead of adding Cyrenaica to their dominions, thought proper to give the cities their liberty, upon a ſimilar principle with the ancient ſtates of Greece. Their freedom was, however, ſoon a puniſhment to them. The moſt powerful, or the moſt rich, from no general ſyſtem of equality or laws being eſtabliſhed among them, oppreſſed the weak and the poor; and mutual diſtruſt paved the way to civil commotion, which

ended in general calamity and diſtreſs. The Romans, to prevent the provinces from falling into total ruin, were at length compelled to reduce the cities, and add them to the empire. Such was the period to the power of one important diviſion of the empire, originally veſted in the family of the Ptolemies.

Ptolemy Lathyrus, who was, during this interval, buſied in fomenting quarrels among the kings of Syria, ſuffered no means or opportunity to eſcape him, which might eventually accelerate his reſtoration to the throne of Egypt. His ambition, in theſe commotions, tended to ſtain his character with ſeveral enormities, of which his former benevolent diſpoſition diſplayed no ſymptoms. The crimes and perfidy, however, which were daily perpetrated in Egypt, by Cleopatra, ſo much eclipſed the petty vices of Lathyrus, that he became the favourite of the people by neceſſity.—After the reſtoration of Alexander, by the citizens of the capital, the power and influence of the queen became every day leſs formidable. This gradual change in the politics of the court was viewed with a malignant eye by Cleopatra; and ſhe ſecretly determined to rid herſelf of her ſon and rival, who, by becoming popular, had abridged ſo materially her authority. With this view ſhe employed her emiſſaries to diſpatch him; but her deſperate purpoſe was betrayed to her ſon, and ſhe was put to death by the ſame cruel means which were intended to have been employed againſt Alexander. The

death of this woman, in whom no amiable quality, but perſonal beauty, was ever diſplayed, though productive of one eſſential benefit, the riddance of a tyrant, yet the means by which that event was produced occaſioned general abhorrence. The crime of parricide was indeed hereditarily repugnant to the feelings of an Egyptian, and on this occaſion it produced an unuſual ferment throughout the kingdom. Alexander was forced to fly from Egypt, and his popularity was ſpeedily changed into public obloquy and deteſtation. Such is the fickle deciſions of the populace, and ſuch was the termination of Alexander's power.

The friends of Ptolemy Lathyrus, during this tide of affairs, ſpeedily ſucceeded in the recal of their exiled monarch. He was replaced upon the throne, and, during his remaining life, enjoyed an uninterrupted and unlimited ſway over Egypt.—It may be obſerved, however, that his brorher Alexander attempted, the following year, to regain the crown, by a maritime invaſion, but was obliged to abandon the enterprize after conſiderable loſs. During this expedition againſt the power of Lathyrus, a formidable defection was experienced in Upper Egypt, and particularly from Thebes, the ancient capital of the kingdom. The object of this inſurrection was to render themſelves independent; but, after experiencing a diſaſtrous defeat from Lathyrus's army, they retreated to Thebes, where they were beſieged, for the ſpace

of three years. The incredible obstinacy with which the insurgents defended the city, excited an unjustifiable resentment in the breast of the Egyptian sovereign. When it was at length taken, he treated the inhabitants with unwarrantable rigour, and reduced that city, which was the largest and the richest of any in Egypt, to a heap of ruins.

The destruction of this ancient and wonderful metropolis Lathyrus did not, however, long survive. After a reign of thirty-six years; eleven of which were occupied conjointly with his mother, in Egypt; eighteen in Cyprus, in a perpetual struggle with Cleopatra; and only seven alone; he died three years after the fall of Thebes, and left his daughter Berenice, who assumed the name of Cleopatra, as his only surviving and legitimate offspring, to succeed him on the throne. The death of Ptolemy Lathyrus occurred about eighty-one years before Christ.

CLEOPATRA II.

As Lathyrus left no children but Cleopatra legitimately entitled to the crown of Egypt, the people of Alexandria unanimously concurred in appointing her as their sovereign. The early indications which she shewed of an easy and gentle disposition, left room to hope for a peaceful and happy reign; but the politics of the Roman senate did not, at this period, correspond with the wishes of the Egyptian people. Ptolemy Alexander, the son of Alexander, who had put

Cleopatra to death, was yet alive;* and, as he had conſiderable influence with Sylla, the perpetual dictator, it was decreed that he was the neareſt male ſucceſſor to the throne of Egypt. Six happy months had ſcarcely paſſed over when this new claimant arrived in Alexandria; and as his pretenſions were ſupported by a man who gave laws to the univerſe, it was agreed, by both parties, that he ſhould marry Cleopatra, and that they ſhould reign jointly over the kingdom. The terms of his peaceful aſcenſion to the crown were accepted, and their marriage was accordingly conſummated; but the evil influence of an unwarrantable ambition prompted him to conſpire her removal; and ſhe was cruelly put to death, by his orders, only nineteen days after their union.

* When Cleopatra I. embarked to Phenicia againſt Ptolemy Lathyrus, ſhe took Alexander, her grandſon, along with her, as a kind of hoſtage for the good behaviour of his father Ptolemy Alexander, who was entruſted with the ſole management of affairs during her abſence. On her voyage thither, ſhe thought proper, in caſe of accidents, or a failure in her expedition, to depoſit her jewels, riches, and ſtores, in the iſland of Cos. In this place ſhe likewiſe left her grandſon Alexander; but, ſoon after, Mithridates, the Parthian, got poſſeſſion of the iſland and the booty, along with young Ptolemy. From the Parthian ſovereign, however, the prince made his eſcape, and took refuge in Rome, where he was well received by Sylla, and at length, by the Romans, ſet on the throne of Egypt. A.

PTOLEMY ALEXANDER II.

The horrid outrage upon humanity by which Alexander got unrivalled poſſeſſion of the throne, procured him the enmity of the principal people of the kingdom. Different parts of Egypt refuſed to acknowledge his authority, and it was only by coercive meaſures that he was able to retain his power.—In this diſtracted ſtate of affairs, Selena, the ſiſter, and formerly the wife of Lathyrus, inſtituted a claim to the crown, and her intereſt was encouraged by the malcontents throughout the country. She likewiſe ſent her two ſons to Rome, for the purpoſe of ſoliciting the ſenate in her behalf. Her mediation with them was, however, ineffectual, and the inſurgents in Egypt refuſed her at length the aſſiſtance ſhe expected. They, on the contrary, exerciſed the power they were poſſeſſed of, in baniſhing Alexander from Egypt, and in raiſing Ptolemy Aulètes, the natural ſon of Lathyrus, to the throne.—The term of Ptolemy Alexander's troubleſome reign may be circumſcribed to the period of fifteen years.

Upon Alexander's expulſion from his country, he took refuge in Syria, under the protection of Pompey the Roman general, who was at that time marching againſt Mithridates the Parthian. The exiled prince demanded aſſiſtance from that famous Roman, in the expectation that he would reinſtate him on the throne; but Pompey declined interfering with his affairs, as

they were foreign to his commiſſion. Being thus entirely abandoned of hope, Alexander retired to the city of Tyre, where he ſoon after died. His will, as extraordinary as it was abſurd, declared the Roman people his heirs; and he bequeathed them the kingdom of Egypt and the iſland of Cyprus, though at his death he had not power over a foot of territory in either. When the ſubject of the will was known in Rome, it occaſioned a violent diſcuſſion in the ſenate. Avarice prompted the moſt unprincipled of the *conſcript fathers*, to ſeize the rich and fertile dominions of Egypt; but policy determined the majority to poſtpone their claims to a future opportunity; as an unprofitable war would probably be the conſequence, if they, at that time, made Egypt a Roman province. It was determined, however, by the ſenate, that his perſonal effects ſhould be brought to Rome; by that means implying, that though they did not then demand their right, they did not altogether renounce the will.

PTOLEMY AULETES.*

The depoſition and death of Ptolemy Alexander, and the meaſures which Auletes employed, on his

* This Prince was ſurnamed Auletes, ſignifying 'a player on the flute,' owing to his extreme propenſity to that amuſement.—He even valued his own abilities ſo highly, that he diſputed the prize among the beſt muſicians in the public games. A.

acceſſion to the throne, completed the diſgrace and accelerated the ruin of Egypt as an independent ſtate. Since the defeat of Antiochus the Great, during the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes, the power of Egypt, and indeed of all the Aſiatic kingdoms, was ſo much on the decline, that the Romans poſſeſſed an unuſual influence over all the Eaſt. Policy, however, prevented the ſenate from ſhewing their unbounded ambition in their immediate ſubjugation. It was only by ſlow and certain meaſures that they eſtabliſhed their authority, and, by that means, gained the ſtates imperceptibly to their purpoſes, without any material oppoſition. Had they, on the contrary, imprudently diſplayed their ambitious projects, the whole world would have coaleſced for their deſtruction, and the proud aſpirations of the ſucceſſors of Romulus would have been effectually ſealed for ever.

When Auletes, therefore, had aſſumed the diadem, he deemed his royalty inſecure till he had obtained the friendſhip and alliance of the Roman people.—The impolitic will of Lathyrus (to call it by the gentleſt name) which was freſh in every one's recollection, and the fickle popularity of the Alexandrians, were powerful incentives to have the good will of the ſenate. But the effeminacy and inſipidity of Ptolemy's character, rendered him not only deſpicable in the eyes of the Romans, but even difficult for his ambaſſadors to obtain an opportunity of juſtifying the honour and reputation of their maſter to the

Conſcript fathers. Such, however, was the venality and degeneracy of the greateſt men in Rome, that the voice of corruption prevailed over the demands of juſtice. Cæſar the conſul was immenſely in debt, and the friendſhip of Rome was purchaſed for a ſum equal to the value of nine hundred thouſand pounds. The influence of Cæſar, and a moiety of the riches of Egypt, gained Pompey and his adherents; and a majority of the ſenate decreed Ptolemy Auletes, the friend and ally of Rome.

Now, that the ſafety of Auletes was ſecured by the recent negociation, he had only recourſe to procure the price of the treaty, by exacting an extraordinary revenue from his ſubjects. He had, however, diſguſted the Egyptians ſo much, by his unmanly conduct in Rome, and by his tamely ſubmitting to the loſs of Cyprus,* which was formerly conſidered as an appendage of Egypt, that his exorbitant exactions produced a violent inſurrection. All the military of

* After the death of Lathyrus, the brother of Ptolemy Auletes was appointed king of Cyprus; but having affronted Clodius, a naval commander of the Romans, in not ranſoming him generouſly from the power of ſome pirates, by whom he was taken priſoner, the Roman, on his return home, being elected tribune of the people, by the authority which that office gave him, ſeized upon the iſland, in revenge for the avaricious conduct of its prince Ptolemy. To put that unjuſt order in execution, the great Cato was commiſſioned to go to Cyprus, to deprive the prince of his dominions. Cato, on his arrival at Rhodes, wrote

the kingdom deſerted his ſtandard to the inſurgents, and he was compelled to leave Egypt for the ſecurity of his life. In the precipitate retreat of Auletes, his route was ſo well concealed, that it was generally conjectured, by his enemies, that he had periſhed.—In this perſuaſion, the Alexandrians raiſed his eldeſt daughter to the throne, his two ſons being too young to occupy that diſtinguiſhed ſituation.

Ptolemy Auletes, after his flight from Egypt, landed at the iſland of Rhodes, on his paſſage to Italy. The famous Cato had arrived on that iſland but a few days before; and Auletes being informed of that circumſtance, wiſhed to conſult him reſpecting the embaraſſed ſtate of his affairs; and, for that purpoſe, diſpatched a meſſenger to inform him of his arrival. The ſtern Republican replied, on the delivery of this meſſage, that if Ptolemy had any thing

to Ptolemy, and promiſed him the high-prieſthood of the temple of Venus, at Paphos, if he would retire peaceably from the iſland. But he refuſed; and Cato, in conformity to his orders, marched hoſtilely againſt Cyprus. Ptolemy, ſeeing that reſiſtance was vain, embarked with all his riches, in the reſolution of periſhing with them in the ocean. After he had put to ſea, his anxiety for his adored treaſures, which he could not think of loſing, though he was himſelf determined to die, induced him to return. He did ſo; and, after replacing his gold in the magazines, put a period to his own life by poiſon, and left his riches and the iſland undefended to his enemies.——Thus Cato acquired Cyprus to Rome, without bloodſhed, and with a booty of one million and fifty thouſand pounds.

A.

to communicate, he might wait upon him, if he thought proper. Auletes, thus obliged to deſcend from the dignified parade of royalty, if he viſited Cato, accordingly complied. The Roman, however, on his entrance, did not condeſcend to riſe; but ſaluting him as a citizen of Rome, requeſted him to be ſeated. The Egyptian prince, though abaſhed and confuſed at this reception, could not help admiring the firmneſs, and at the ſame time the modeſty of Cato's manners. But his admiration was ſpeedily changed into ſurprize, when Cato vehemently blamed him for his imprudence in leaving Egypt. He told him, that he abandoned the moſt rich and fertile kingdom in the world, to expoſe himſelf to the contumely of pride, the indignities of the ſenate, and the inſatiable avarice of the Roman grandees; and he further ſtrongly obſerved, that if the price of Egypt was at his diſpoſal, he could not ſatisfy their avidity. To give weight to the reaſoning of Cato, that brave Roman, in concluſion, obſerved, that he would adviſe him to return to his country, and reconcile himſelf with his ſubjects; to which he added, that he himſelf would accompany him thither, and employ his good offices in mediating a peace with the people.

To theſe judicious obſervations Ptolemy could not help paying the utmoſt reverence, as they were founded in truth, and delivered by a Roman, who was never yet impeached with a diſhonourable motive for any action he ever performed. He perceived the

propriety of obeying the injunctions of Cato, and communicated the intention to his courtiers of returning to Egypt. But these hollow friends, who were mostly the creatures of Pompey, easily dissuaded him from following the counsels of this sage Roman.—They, therefore, proceeded to Rome, in order to obtain the object of their wishes by forcible means, not by measures of a pacific nature.

On Ptolemy's arrival in the Roman capital, he was disappointed of his hopes in being immediately re-established, on account of the absence of Cæsar.—We have seen what an active part that great but mercenary general shewed, respecting the affairs of this Egyptian monarch, and how he was bribed to his interests. Pompey, likewise, partook of these pecuniary largesses; but as Ptolemy Auletes had formerly rendered him essential services in the war against Mithridates, and even maintained eight thousand horse in Judea, at his own expence, his application to that general, in Cæsar's absence, was dictated as well by common friendship as a respect to justice. Pompey, therefore, received the exiled sovereign in his house, and supported him in the senate by all the corruption and influence he could exercise. The meanness of Ptolemy Auletes, in procuring the votes of the senate, was extreme. He, like a private person, or resembling the modern members of the British parliament, was obliged to solicit his business from gate to gate. The cruelties which Ptolemy with im-

punity committed, under the eye of Pompey and the law, in order to obtain the ſanction and aſſiſtance of the *Conſcript fathers* towards his reſtoration, was likewiſe moſt abandoned.

The Alexandrians, apprized of their baniſhed ſovereign being ſtill alive, and in Rome caballing for his reſtoration, diſpatched an hundred of their moſt eminent citizens, with the celebrated philoſopher Dion at their head, as ambaſſadors, to counteract the meaſures of Ptolemy, and repreſent his cruelties, and their reaſons for his being dethroned. Auletes being aware of the influence of Dion at Rome, where he had many friends, and the power of the embaſſy to defeat his unwearied labours, conſpired to bribe, to intimidate, or to aſſaſſinate, all thoſe ambaſſadors, before their arrival, who might oppoſe him in the ſenate. He ſucceeded in the deteſtable plot; and as moſt of the embaſſy were either poiſoned or aſſaſſinated, thoſe who eſcaped were intimidated into ſilence. This audacious violation of the laws, and contempt of public juſtice, ſoon, however, rouſed the indignation of the Roman citizens, and every ſenator of integrity; and the odium which this horrid action drew upon the character of Ptolemy, tended, inſtead of promoting his intereſt, to raiſe a formidable oppoſition to his power and influence. M. Favonius, the Stoic philoſopher, zealouſly ſtept forward, and reſolved that the ſenate ſhould command the attendance of Dion, who ſtill ſurvived the maſſacre, in order to

hear the complaints of the Egyptian people againſt Ptolemy Auletes. The ſenate paſſed the reſolution; yet the power of Pompey and Lentulus, who were the head of a faction in Ptolemy's favour, was ſo great, and the immenſe profuſion with which the king corrupted the majority of the ſenators was ſo obvious, that Dion was afraid to appear. A few days indeed ſhewed that his fears were not groundleſs, for that eminent philoſopher was killed by the orders of Ptolemy; and ſuch was the venality of Roman juſtice, that Auletes was acquitted of the murder, though he openly maintained he was juſtified in the deed.

Though Roman juſtice had fallen to ſuch a ſtate of depreſſion, as to enable Ptolemy Auletes to evade the puniſhment of his crimes, he had, nevertheleſs, excited the popular indignation on account of his unprincipled conduct. Alarmed, therefore, by the clamours of the people, and their reſentment, he retired privately from Rome, and went to Epheſus, where he ſecluded himſelf from public obſervation in the temple of Diana, and there awaited the deciſion of his deſtiny. His friends in the ſenate, after his departure, ceaſed not in their induſtry and influence to procure his re-eſtabliſhment in Egypt. They, indeed, ſucceeded in gaining the majority of the conſcript fathers, and conſequently a decree in his favour; but the activity of their opponents, who were inſpirited to action by popular applauſe, and

the flagitious conduct of Ptolemy, nearly rendered their exertions unavailing. One of the tribunes, in particular, named C. Cato, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his eloquence and extraordinary oppoſition. After the expiration of Lentulus's conſulſhip, he ſtepped forward with a ſingular oracle, which he had, no doubt, colluſively obtained from the mercenary ſybils, that ſtaggered even the wary politics of Pompey's faction. The purport of this oracular divination was, that "If a king of Egypt, having occaſion for aid, applied to the Romans, they ſhould not refuſe him their friendſhip, but they muſt not lend him troops, elſe they ſhall hazard much and ſuffer materially." This ſingular oracle Cato took eſpecial care that it might have all the force and ſolemnity which its importance required; but, in order to prevent the ſenate from ſuppreſſing it, as it was uſual for oracles to be previouſly examined by them, whether or not they were proper to be divulged, he obliged the ſybils themſelves to promulgate to the people the contents in queſtion of the ſacred records. Such a proceeding confounded the meaſures which Ptolemy and his friends had concerted; but Lentulus being unwilling that the decree by which he was appointed to reinſtate the king of Egypt ſhould be revoked while he was in Rome, departed immediately for his province, in quality of proconſul, till the ſtorm was blown over.

The ſuperſtition of the public mind thus defeated the machinations of Ptolemy, while the patriotiſm of the populace was aſleep. The new conſuls, who were the declared enemies of Auletes, propoſed and carried a decree, that the ſtricteſt regard ought to be paid to the oracle; and the idea of re-eſtabliſhing Ptolemy by force ſeemed to be entirely abandoned by all parties. Ammonius, the Egyptian ambaſſador, who ſtill reſided at Rome, was, however, ordered to requeſt, that Pompey ſhould be employed to negociate with the Alexandrians for the return of the king. Pompey's authority, on account of the reputation he had acquired in Aſia againſt Mithridates, was ſo extenſive, that Cæſar and he poſſeſſed in reality the whole power of the Roman empire.—The requeſt was, therefore, plauſible, and by no means indecorous; but the ſenate was divided in opinion reſpecting the propriety of the demand; and, after ſeveral violent diſcuſſions, the ſubject was entirely abandoned. In this ſtate of uncertainty, the affairs of Ptolemy appeared now more deſperate than ever; but the influence of his gold, and the courteous promiſes, of which he was extremely laviſh, made to the Roman generals, accompliſhed his purpoſes at length, after many difficulties.

The inconſiſtent evaſions practiſed by the principal men in Rome, in obviating the meaning of the oracle, to re-eſtabliſh Ptolemy, appear no leſs ſurprizing than diſhonorable. It was generally ſuppoſed, indeed,

that it was an impoſture, fabricated for the purpoſe; but ſo implicitly did the people credit the reſponſes of oracles, that it would have been not only impolitic, but dangerous to oppoſe openly the dictates of the ſacred books. Cicero, however, in his advice to Lentulus, ſuggeſted an effectual method of accompliſhing the purpoſe in view, and which, though it might be contrary to the *meaning* of the oracle, was ſtill correſponding to the *form* of its expreſſion. "You are the beſt judge," ſays he, "what you can undertake and accompliſh, being abſolute maſter of both Cyprus and Cilicia. If it appears practicable to take Alexandria, and reduce the reſt of Egypt, it is undoubtedly both for your own honour and that of the commonwealth, that you ſhould proceed immediately with your fleet and army for that purpoſe. By leaving the king at Ptolemais, or ſome neighbouring place, you can, after appeaſing the revolted, and placing garriſons where they may be neceſſary, enable him to return to Egypt in ſafety. In this manner you will reinſtate him, according to the firſt decree of the ſenate; and at the ſame time reſtore him to his kingdom, without troops; which, our bigots aſſure us, is the ſenſe of the ſybil."

We thus perceive the grave and upright Cicero tampering with the laws; but it may be ſaid, in apology, that his gratitude to Lentulus, by whoſe friendſhip he was recalled from baniſhment, alone prompted him to this inconſiſtency. Lentulus, however,

would not expose himself to the risk of being disgraced, as he undoubtedly would have been, should he not have succeeded in the execution of the enterprize. The only resource, therefore, left for Ptolemy, was in the friendship of Pompey. That great man was just elected to the consulship; and as his friend Gabinius commanded an army, as proconsul in Syria, he dispatched letters, which Ptolemy himself conveyed, conjuring him to do his utmost towards that prince's re-establishment on the throne. The power of Pompey, the gold and promises of Ptolemy, joined with the lively remonstrances of his lieutenant Mark Antony, who panted for glory, dissipated the fears of Gabinius, and determined him to march immediately into Egypt. Ptolemy purchased the assistance of this Roman general at an enormous rate. A sum equal to £.1,500,000 was the price of his restoration; and the principal part was advanced before the army began its march.

The danger of passing the deserts which separate Syria from Egypt, was the principal obstacle which the army had to dread; but the bravery of Antony, who commanded the cavalry, soon removed their apprehensions. He, with great promptitude, seized the passes; and, after penetrating to Pelusium, speedily reduced the city and garrison, and made the passage into Egypt secure. Ptolemy's desire for vengeance induced him to request that the soldiers in Pelusium should be put to the sword; but Antony

would not ſuffer a Roman's glory to be tarniſhed by ſo foul a deed. His lenity, on the contrary, to the priſoners, made him eſteemed wherever he went; and his valour and prudence, as a general, was not more praiſe-worthy, than his reſpect to the liberty and property of individuals, as a man.

Gabinius, upon the news of Antony's ſucceſs, immediately marched the whole army acroſs the deſart, into the interior of Egypt. Being in winter, the Nile offered them no impediment to over-run the country, and nothing material now oppoſed their progreſs, if ſucceſs awaited them in a general battle. Archelaus, a brave, able, and experienced general, commanded the army of Egypt; but his ſoldiers were a voluptuous, haughty, and undiſciplined rabble, that were with difficulty kept in any ſubordination. When he ordered entrenchments for an encampment, the Egyptians complained heavily of their hardſhips; and obſerved, that the mercenaries alone ſhould undergo that fatigue, at the public expence. Such ſoldiers, it may be perceived, were unfit to contend with Romans; and, indeed, the reſult proved ſo. The bravery of Archelaus, for a ſhort period, kept the fate of a general battle in ſuſpenſe; but the army being principally put to the route, he fell amidſt the valiant few who breathed a love for their country's independence. Antony, who was formerly his friend, found the body among the ſlain, and afterwards adorned and ſolemnized his obſequies with great

magnificence. The event of this defeat placed Egypt entirely in the power of the Romans, and Auletes was ſoon afterwards reſtored to the throne.

It appears that, during the exile of Ptolemy, his daughter Berenice not only reigned with the people's approbation, but the affairs of the kingdom were adminiſtered with prudence and ſagacity. The principal lords, indeed, poſſeſſed an abſolute influence in the ſtate; but that influence ſeems not to have been abuſed. Soon after her aſcenſion to the throne, an embaſſy was ſent to Antiochus Aſiaticus, in Syria, as being the neareſt male heir to the crown of Egypt, by his mother Selena, in order that he and Berenice might be united in marriage. He was, however, dead before their arrival; but as Seleucus Cybioſactes, the brother of that prince, was his ſucceſſor, the propoſal was made to him, which he accepted. After his arrival in Egypt, and the conſummation of the marriage, he diſplayed the moſt unwarrantable avarice, not only in hoarding up riches, but by means of unexampled rapacity. The body of Alexander the Great, which was depoſited in a golden coffin in Alexandria, was taken from its ſilent ſepulchre, and replaced by a coffin of glaſs. The reſpect which the Egyptians paid to the dead was proverbial; ſuch an action, therefore, upon a corpſe of any deſcription, would have experienced their reſentment; but the ſacrilegious robbery committed upon their ancient deliverer and protector, whoſe memory was almoſt

deified, produced an unuſual indignation againſt Seleucus. His conduct, indeed, ſoon became ſo odious to the people, that he was deliberately ſtrangled, by orders of the queen; and Archelaus, the high-prieſt of Comana, in Pontus, was placed in his ſituation. This man was an able and brave commander, according to the teſtimony of Mark Antony; and though he vainly ſuppoſed himſelf the ſon of the great Mithridates, his excellent character proved that he would not have been an unworthy deſcendant of that prince.

Ptolemy Auletes being re-eſtabliſhed in a compulſory manner, it became neceſſary to preſerve his power by the ſame means. Gabinius, therefore, before he retired from Egypt, garriſoned the principal fortifications, and particularly Alexandria, with Roman ſoldiers. The firſt act of Ptolemy's reign, after his reſtoration, was in the puniſhment of his daughter Berenice, who had been raiſed to the throne, during his exile, by the Alexandrians. He then directed his reſentment againſt the principal lords throughout the kingdom, who had been moſt active in their oppoſition. Their eſtates, indeed, were moſt conducive to his preſſing wants at that time, as it was neceſſary to pay Gabinius the ſtipulated reward for his reſtoration; their lives and fortunes were, therefore, the price of their rebellion. Ptolemy had, however, other claimants, that were equally preſſing for payment of their debts, which he had contracted in Rome.

Among the moſt obſtreperous of theſe creditors, was C. Rabirius Poſthumous, a Roman ſenator, who had lent and been ſecurity for money which had been procured for him, during his reſidence in that city.—The ſums which were borrowed muſt have been immenſe, when it is conſidered that £. 500,000 was not more than ſufficient for the corruption of Pompey. What muſt it have been, therefore, which purchaſed the votes of a majority of five hundred ſenators!

When Rabirius inſtituted his claim, Ptolemy obſerved, that he deſpaired of being ever able to ſatisfy his debts; but with a view to liquidate them as much as poſſible, he invited him to Egypt to ſuperintend the collection of the revenue, and by that means be enabled, in length of time, to reimburſe himſelf. The Roman accepted the invitation, from an apprehenſion of totally loſing the debt if he refuſed. But the diſſimulating monarch, after the clamorous creditor was in his power, ſoon found a pretence for cancelling the debt, and the obligation he owed him. Rabirius was ſeized and impriſoned, under colour of a violation of the laws, and was even threatened with death; he found means, however, to eſcape, though conſiderably poorer and more miſerable than upon his firſt entrance into Egypt. To complete his diſgrace, he was proſecuted, on his arrival in Rome, for aiding and aſſiſting Ptolemy in corrupting the ſenate with the ſums he had lent him; of diſhonouring the quality of a Roman knight, by accepting an employ-

ment in Egypt; and, finally, of having ſhared in the plunder which Gabinius received as a reward for his ſervices, in reſtoring that monarch. To all theſe charges Cicero produced a memorable defence; a defence that, while it ſufficiently vindicated the unhappy Rabirius, is an eternal monument of the perfidy and ingratitude of the Egyptian ſovereign.

Ptolemy Auletes, from the moment he found himſelf firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne, proceeded from one act of violence to another, till he filled the catalogue of crimes that diſgraced the reign of his predeceſſors. It ſeems, indeed, ſurpriſing, that none of thoſe perfidious princes who reigned about this period, took a leſſon of honor or integrity from any of the firſt three Ptolemies, who adorned the page of Egyptian hiſtory. Vice, on the contrary, in all its various deformity, ſeems to have been indelibly ſtamped upon their nature, in unvaried ſucceſſion; and did we not ſee atrocious characters in common life, which proves that ſimilar effects will be produced from ſimilar cauſes, we ſhould be led to exclaim that vice is hereditary with kings. To all the iniquitous proceedings of Auletes, the people ſeemed inſenſible, and ſuffered without a murmur; yet it muſt appear to mankind that the Egyptians were in fact infatuated, for though tyranny could not excite their indignation, they were feelingly alive to any injury offered their religion. A Roman ſoldier having accidentally killed a cat, an animal that was held ſacred, in conſequence of its

emblematical purpoſes in their religion, all Alexandria was in uproar, and neither the power of Ptolemy, nor the fear of the vengeance of the Romans, could prevent the people from tearing him to pieces. What could therefore be expected, in relieving themſelves of tyranny, from ſuch a people?

The period of Ptolemy's reign was, however, approaching. Four years only was the ſhort duration of his power, after his reſtoration. Four children ſurvived him; the two eldeſt of whom, a ſon and a daughter, were appointed to marry, and ſucceed him jointly on the throne. But being both eſteemed too young to fulfil the functions of their office, they were left under the tuition of the Roman ſenate; and the people appointed Pompey as the guardian of young Ptolemy. Theſe events occurred about 51 years before Chriſt.

PTOLEMY, THE SON OF AULETES, OR THE 12TH.

The commencement of the joint reign of Ptolemy the ſon of Auletes, and his ſiſter Cleopatra, is involved in obſcurity. Under the guidance of ambitious miniſters, and in a ſtate of pupilage, their reign would conſiſt, indeed, of little elſe but the cabals of contending parties, conſpiring for a ſuperiority, in order to aggrandize or enrich themſelves. In ſupport of this conjecture, it appears that the firſt circumſtance of political importance taken notice of, was the aſſumption of the ſole ſovereignty by Ptolemy, and the total

exclusion of Cleopatra from the throne. The ministers and preceptors of this young prince were Achillas and Pothinus; the former of whom was Generalissimo of the forces, and the latter a eunuch, the superintendant of his education. These men engrossed the principal power into their own hands, and Ptolemy was subservient to their purposes.

Cleopatra, in whose mind ambition and a good understanding were conspicuous, had long watched with a jealous eye the conduct of her brother's ministers. Her destruction was planned, but her foresight prevented the blow; and she secretly made a retreat into Syria, in order to recover her right by force of arms. She there recruited a force able to act offensively against her brother, and soon after marched in person with her army towards the frontiers of Egypt.

At this particular conjuncture, (about 48 years before the Christian æra) the remarkable battle of Pharsalia was fought betwixt Cæsar and Pompey, which terminated in the total defeat of the latter. Pompey escaped, with his wife Cornelia, and a few attendants, and fled precipitately by sea, in the expectation of finding a sure asylum from misfortune in the bosom of Egypt. As he had a claim upon the gratitude of Ptolemy, having protected and re-established his father Auletes when he was banished from the throne, he expected a reception adequate to those eminent services he had rendered the family. On his arrival upon the coast of Egypt, Ptolemy's army was assem-

bled on the frontiers, between Peluſium and Mount Caſſius, in order to oppoſe the paſſage of Cleopatra's forces which were approaching thither. Pompey, therefore, diſpatched a meſſenger to requeſt permiſſion of Ptolemy to enter the kingdom. Such a cautious procedure indicated the probability of a refuſal. The miniſters and courtiers of the Egyptian ſovereign immediately held a conſultation, reſpecting the propriety of granting the fallen Roman a protection in Egypt. Pompey awaited their deciſion with impatience; and on the arrival of Septimius, who was a Roman officer in the Egyptian ſervice, he was invited on board a ſhallop, for the purpoſe of being conveyed to land. This man tendered him his hand in the name of the king his maſter, and requeſted him to conſider Ptolemy as his friend, his ward, and his ſon. Cornelia, the wife of Pompey, apprehenſive of the little faith to be placed in tyrants, embraced him affectionately, and ſhed tears; and he, on ſtepping into the ſhallop, remarked, in a prophetic quotation from Sophocles, that "Every man who enters the court of a tyrant, becomes his ſlave, though free before."

The reſult of that conſultation reſpecting Pompey's admiſſion into Egypt, having terminated in a reſolution to deprive him treacherouſly of life, the hypocrite Septimius was delegated to perform that deteſtable office. Both Pothinus and Achillas ſuggeſted the pro-

priety of either receiving him friendly into Egypt, or of requesting him to seek another retreat. The dastardly advice of Theodotus, the rhetorician, however, prevailed. He forcibly observed, that if they received him, Cæsar would be exasperated at having granted refuge to his enemy; and if they denied him a protection, and Pompey afterwards recovered his consequence, he would revenge himself for the refusal.—His suggestion, therefore, to remove both these apprehensions, was to put a period to his life; for, according to the proverb, it was observed, that "Dead men do not bite."

Pompey, after having left his beloved Cornelia, proceeded with the shallop directly towards the shore, where the army was drawn up, with Ptolemy at their head, as if they intended the Roman general an honourable salute. When the boat, however, approached the beach, the traitor stabbed him, in sight of the army; and, after severing the head from the body, threw the lifeless corpse upon the strand. Such was the return that the great Pompey received from his Egyptian friends. His freed man, who accompanied him, with the assistance of an aged Roman, who was a spectator, and whose mind recoiled with horror at the deed, raised, with the fragments of a shipwreck, a wretched funeral pile, to honour his death; and his head was preserved by the assassins, in order to gratify, as they supposed, the conqueror Cæsar. The unhappy Cornelia, who had seen her husband massacred in this

ſhocking manner, raiſed a lamentable outcry; and her attendants, who were ſtupified with horror, looked for a few minutes on each other, with dreadful ſuſpenſe. Perceiving, however, that their enemies were preparing to purſue them, they immediately weighed anchor and ſtood to ſea, and by that means evaded their purſuit.

Cæſar, immediately after the victory he obtained over Pompey, ſelected only eight hundred horſe and three thouſand infantry, in order to purſue his defeated enemy with greater promptitude. Juſtly ſuſpecting that he had retired into Egypt, he embarked immediately, with his choſen troops, in the hope of overtaking him alive, leaving his principal army in Greece and Aſia Minor, to ſecure the victory he had obtained. Imagining that his reputation would enſure ſucceſs to all his meaſures, however dangerous, he debarked his forces at Alexandria, and ſecured a landing, of which he had reaſon ſoon after to repent. The firſt intelligence which Cæſar received was the death of Pompey; and ſoon after, the rhetorician Theodotus preſented him with the head of that unfortunate Roman. Contrary, however, to the expectation of thoſe deteſted aſſaſſins, Cæſar wept at the horrid ſight, and immediately turned away his eyes from a ſpectacle ſo painful to his feelings. His animoſity, on the contrary, to that great man, was, in a moment, converted into generous pity; and he not only interred him with the uſual ſolemnities, but ex-

preſſed a reſpectful eſteem to his memory. All thoſe who had been the friends of Pompey, he received with kindneſs, and loaded with favours; and when he wrote to Rome, he publicly announced, that the higheſt and moſt grateful advantage of his victory was, to find every day an opportunity of preſerving the lives of, and performing ſervices to, thoſe citizens who had borne arms againſt him.—What a ſublime ſentiment! and how contrary to the feelings of modern ſoldiers, whoſe conduct might have received a nobler impreſſion from the leſſons of Chriſtian philoſophy.

On Cæſar's arrival in Alexandria, he found the kingdom, and particularly the capital, in a ſtate of anarchy and civil commotion. The quarrel betwixt Ptolemy and Cleopatra was now eſpouſed by the people, and they were ſo divided into parties, that neither law nor government could protect the peaceful citizens from the perpetration of murders and aſſaſſinations. Even the preſence of Cæſar and his ſmall army could with difficulty overawe the turbulent and ſeditious populace. The danger, indeed, of being cut off was ſuch, that he diſpatched orders for the legions in Aſia Minor immediately to join him at Alexandria. As for re-embarking, the ſeaſon of the year (in Auguſt) had commenced when the north winds are ſtrongeſt, which effectually prevented him. To reſtore peace, however, if poſſible, he, in the quality of guardian to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, took cog-

nizance of the difference which ſubſiſted betwixt them, and ſummoned them before him. His authority was too great, for the orders to be diſputed; but he added a condition to the ſummons, which produced violent remonſtrances and complaints from Ptolemy's miniſters. Cæſar had decreed in form, that the armies ſhould be previouſly diſbanded, before they appeared in his preſence to plead their cauſes. To this order they ſtrongly objected, and conſidered it as a violation of the royal dignity; which, being independent, acknowledged no ſuperior, and could be judged by no earthly tribunal. Cæſar, however, conſidering his own ſafety inſecure, ſo long as a large Egyptian army was kept on foot, replied to theſe objections in terms that could not be ſuperceded. He obſerved, that, by the will of Auletes, his children were under the tuition of the ſenate and people of Rome, of which the whole authority was veſted in himſelf in quality of Conſul; that therefore he, as guardian, had a right to execute the will, by arbitrating their differences, and conſulting the public intereſts of Egypt. Such an explanation was irreſiſtible; it quieted their apprehenſions, and facilitated the pacification he had in view.

Advocates being choſen to plead before Cæſar, their reſpective complaints were exhibited in due form.—But Cleopatra, who was jealous of being betrayed by the machinations of Ptolemy's miniſters, believed her preſence would tend more eſſentially to her inte-

reſts, than the eloquence of an advocate. She, therefore, cauſed her judge to be apprized of her wiſh to appear before him in perſon; and it is even ſaid by Plutarch, that the ſolicitations of Cæſar himſelf induced her to that reſolution. Cleopatra departed from the coaſt of Phenicia, on board of a ſmall veſſel, accompanied only by Appollodorus the Silician. Having arrived, during the night, before the walls of Alexandria, ſhe contrived a ſingular method of eluding the vigilance of the guards. Apollodorus wrapt her up in a large bundle of clothes, and, by this device, carried her through the port of the citadel without detection. In this ſtate of diſhabille ſhe was carried into Cæſar's apartment, and, on the bundle being untied, the Roman general was agreeably ſurprized with the ſight of ſo beautiful a perſonage.

Cæſar, the following day, ſent for Ptolemy, and apprizing him of Cleopatra's viſit, and her being at no great diſtance, preſſed him to be reconciled with her as formerly. But Ptolemy, who was ſagacious enough to perceive the predilection which Cæſar entertained for his ſiſter, left the palace in great perturbation, imagining that his judge had turned his adverſary. On his arrival in the ſtreet, he tore the diadem in a fury from his head, daſhed it to pieces upon the ground, and, with his face bathed in tears, cried out, in the midſt of the people who were aſſembled, that he was betrayed. The populace of Alexandria, naturally diſſolute in their manners, upon the recital

of Ptolemy's indignities, immediately threatened Cæsar with vengeance. All the city was in uproar and confusion, and the Romans would have infallibly been overpowered, had the furious mob directed their attacks with any degree of judgment. Cæsar's presence of mind, and his usual good fortune, however, speedily extricated him from the dangers with which he was surrounded; and, after assuring the people from one of the high windows of the palace, that their interests would be consulted in arranging the national affairs, their indignation was appeased, and, as is usual from such riotous proceedings, their resentment was converted into approbation.

Upon the first appearance of this popular commotion, Ptolemy was made a prisoner by the troops of Cæsar; and the orders which were afterwards issued, though coming in reality from the Roman general, appeared always with that prince's signature. By acting thus behind the curtain, the commands of Cæsar were not disputed, and the measures he adopted to obtain the objects in view, were salutary and efficacious. In order to remove, also, every symptom of jealousy or distrust, an assembly of the people was summoned, to obviate the difference between Ptolemy and Cleopatra. The will of Auletes was then read, and in conformity to its contents, Cæsar decreed, as tutor and arbitrator, that they should reign in future conjointly, according to the wish of their late sovereign. Ptolemy and Arsinoe, the two youngest

of the family, were likewiſe appointed to reign in Cyprus, though it had ſeveral years before been united to the Roman empire.

Theſe conciliating proceedings were received with great applauſe, and Cæſar's popularity was now unuſually high in the public eſteem. But the inſidious policy of Pothinus defeated the pacification of Egypt, and his jealouſy, or his ambition, overturned the judicious regulations of the Roman general. Having formerly occaſioned the breach between Pompey and Cleopatra, in the capacity of the prince's prime miniſter, he had reaſon to dread a reconciliation as a death blow to his power. He, therefore, endeavoured to counteract the effect of Cæſar's decree, by fomenting the minds of the people with new ſubjects of grievance, and by diffuſing ſentiments that were calculated to alarm the public tranquillity. Pothinus, with great plauſibility, circulated the opinion, that the meaſures of Cæſar were dictated more through fear than motives of juſtice, and that Cleopatra would certainly be placed alone upon the throne, when the life of Ptolemy could be diſpatched with ſecrecy. This crafty miniſter, knowing that the veſting of the ſupreme power in a female would be obnoxious to the people, induſtriouſly propagated the report that ſuch was Cæſar's intention. Theſe ſtories received currency, from the pretended affection which Pothinus diſplayed for the people's ſufferings; for, when Cæſar's orders were iſſued, or any demand for money

or forage had been made, they were always represented by him to the people in the most odious point of view. When Auletes was at Rome, and had engaged with Cæsar for his restoration to the throne of Egypt, the price of his assistance was estimated at 6,000 talents. But as a small part of that sum had only been paid, the remainder was demanded of his son, by Cæsar, on his arrival in Alexandria, for the purpose of paying his troops. Pothinus, therefore, in exacting this money, plundered the temples of their gold and silver, and roused the superstitious clamours of the people, by representing this extreme extortion as proceeding from that Roman.—By such means did he still continue to misrepresent and exaggerate every action that was done by the Roman general, so that the public mind was roused against Cæsar, and prepared to proceed to open war.

In this convulsed state of Egyptian affairs, Pothinus ordered Achillas to advance from Pelusium with his forces, in order to drive Cæsar from Alexandria, or annihilate his power. The strength of the Egyptian army being twenty thousand disciplined troops, the great disproportion between them and the Roman army induced the general belief that Cæsar would be speedily overpowered. But they were unacquainted with the military skill of this Roman veteran, and the valour of his soldiers. The streets and avenues of the city were well adapted to check a superior force, and Cæsar's troops completely baffled every attack that

the army of Achillas could make. It was evidently perceived, that the Egyptian forces could make no impreſſion upon the Romans, and they changed their meaſures from a regular attack, to attempt a blockade by ſea and land. When Cæſar diſcovered their intention, he, with great promptitude, fruſtrated their deſign, by a counter-movement. The Egyptian fleet was ſet on fire, and the iſle of Pharos was immediately occupied by a detachment of his troops, in order to preſerve a communication by ſea. This movement, while it preſerved Cæſar from immediate ruin, tended at the ſame time to deſtroy the famous library of Bruchion, which conſiſted of 400,000 volumes, and the labours of ſeveral kings during ſeveral ages. The conflagration was communicated from the ſhips to the houſes adjoining the quay, and ſuch was the rapidity of the flames, that a principal quarter of the city was entirely deſtroyed.

Again defeated in their projects, the Egyptians were forced to adopt other methods of warfare againſt their formidable antagoniſt. The northward quarter of the city, which was principally occupied by the Romans, was beſieged, and they hoped by that means to reduce the army by hunger, if not by force. Cæſar, however, to defend himſelf from any ſudden recontre, ſurrounded that part of the city with walls, and flanked it with towers and other battlements; and the palace in which Cleopatra and the young prince and princeſs, the king, and Pothinus his mi-

nister, were imprisoned, was employed as a citadel. The mighty Julius, thus invested on all sides except by sea, was obliged to defend himself against a powerful enemy, and to husband his provisions, till a reinforcement of men and a supply of necessaries could be procured from Asia. His enemies, on the other hand, left no means of harrassing him unemployed. Achillas pressed the siege with vigour; and had not the Egyptians been divided and treacherous to each other, there was every probability of succeeding in subduing Cæsar. But their defections proved advantageous to Cæsar, and ultimately saved him from ruin. The detection of Pothinus, his prisoner, in a correspondence with Achillas, in which he advised that general to continue the siege with additional activity, induced him to remove that treacherous minister by a cursory death. Ganymedes, the coadjutor in Pothinus's treason, being apprehensive of the same fate, however, escaped. Being the eunuch who superintended the education of the youngest princess, he had sufficient address to escape with her to the Egyptian camp; by which means he inspired the army with fresh confidence, and caused her to be proclaimed queen of Egypt with great acclamations.

Soon after the arrival of Ganymedes at the Egyptian camp, a quarrel took place between him and Achillas. Actuated either from patriotism, (a rare virtue at that period), or more probably from an ambitious motive, he accused that general of treachery,

and of ſacrificing the intereſts of the country, in giving up the fleet to Cæſar. Such a ſerious charge, admitting it was even unfounded, was ſufficient to rouze the indignation of the ſoldiers. Achillas was ſeized, and ſacrificed by the fury of the army, when the command of courſe devolved upon the princeſs's favourite, Ganymedes. This change of commanders, however, did not leſſen the ſpirit of the army, nor diminiſh their activity in beſieging Cæſar. On the contrary, as their general was a man of capacity, of penetration, and enterprize, they ſeemed to have been inſpired with new qualifications correſponding to his abilities. They now harraſſed Cæſar inceſſantly by a thouſand ſtratagems, and it required all his experience and judgment to baffle their repeated attacks. The water of the Nile, which communicated by a large canal with Alexandria, and by means of pipes was conveyed into ciſterns, or vaulted reſervoirs, throughout every houſe in the city, was ſuddenly ſtopped; and after teazing the Roman ſoldiers with the proſpect of dying with thirſt, he then diffuſed the water of the ſea into their ſluices, which effectually ſpoiled all their freſh water that remained. In this dilemma, the Roman ſoldiers mutinied, and all the hopes of Cæſar, in defending his difficult ſituation, were nearly at an end. His glory, thus on the point of being for ever tarniſhed, rouſed every faculty of his mind to elude the danger which threatened him. He, therefore, determined to try the experiment of getting

water by ſinking wells, and after the failure of ſeveral attempts, owing to the aridity of the ſoil, he at length ſucceeded. Again extricated from the moſt imminent danger, fortune appeared now to veer in his favour, and the tumults of the ſoldiers were appeaſed.

The two legions which Ceſar had ſent for from Aſia Minor had departed from their ſtation, one of which was diſpatched by ſea, the other by land; and the forces that were requeſted of Mithridates of Pergamus were likewiſe approaching. Having thus a ſpeedy proſpect of relief, he prepared his fleet to eſcort the legion into Alexandria that was ſent by ſea. Ganymedes, however, being apprized of this reinforcement approaching, and already cruiſing on the coaſt of Lybia, collected with expedition a fleet to prevent their junction. A battle conſequently enſued; but the military proweſs of the Romans accompliſhed a compleat victory, and the Egyptian fleet was only prevented by the approach of night from being taken and deſtroyed. To repair the loſs of that defeat, Ganymedes collected the whole maritime force of Egypt that was ſcattered in the different branches of the Nile, and entered the port of Alexandria, in order to overpower, in one deciſive blow, the whole ſtrength of the Romans. A ſecond action was thus unavoidable; and upon its event, the fate of Ceſar and the Egyptians altogether depended. The Alexandrians looked on with apprehenſion and hope, and with uplifted hands implored aſſiſtance of the gods. The

Romans were inſpirited by Cæſar, with a ſhort, nervous appeal to their former victories, their country's glory, and their own honour. Each combatant on this important occaſion fought with deſperate valour; but by the naval ſuperiority of the Rhodians, the allies of Cæſar, victory at length was gained by the Romans. Cæſar, immediately upon this fortunate turn of his affairs, landed a body of his forces, in order to take poſſeſſion of the mole called *Heptaſtadion*, which joined the city and the main land. He expected to have taken this important poſt in the firſt moment of ſurprize, when the Egyptians were diſheartened by defeat. But Ganymedes, who calculated upon the poſſibility of being defeated, had the precaution to plant a choſen body of Egyptians upon that important ſtation. Cæſar, therefore, after ſome trivial advantages, and repeated attacks, was repulſed with the loſs of eight hundred ſoldiers, and was nearly cut off in his retreat. The ſhip in which he intended to reimbark, was, in the moment of terror and defeat, crowded with men who fled from the field of battle; and had not Cæſar, with great preſence of mind, diſengaged himſelf, and leaped into the ſea, his life and his glories would have been extinguiſhed for ever. He with great difficulty gained a ſhip at a ſhort diſtance; for while he was in the ſea, he held papers of great conſequence in one hand, and with the other ſwam to the ſhip which ſaved him.

After theſe important engagements, the Egyptians

perceiving their inferiority to the Romans, entertained thoughts of making peace, or appeared at least to be pacifically inclined. Ganymedes, with that view, sent a deputation to Cæsar, requesting the liberty of Ptolemy, and assuring him that his presence would put a period to the war. Cæsar, who had sufficient experience of the subtle character of his antagonists, appeared as if he was persuaded with the justice of their observations, therefore granted their demand. But as he was confident of their duplicity, he wished the people to understand that the continuance of the war was not to be attributed to him. With this view he exhorted the prince, before his liberation, to take advantage of this opportunity to inspire his subjects with sentiments of peace and equity; to redress those evils which the calamitous war had occasioned throughout his dominions; to approve himself worthy of that confidence he now reposed in him, by granting him his liberty; and to shew him his gratitude, by following his instructions, in lieu of those services he had rendered his father. To these injunctions, Ptolemy, with the most imprudent dissimulation, replied, with tears in his eyes, that the presence of Cæsar was a much greater satisfaction to him than reigning over others. However, after he regained his liberty, these professions of amity were speedily effaced. He renewed hostilities with additional animosity, and even collected a fleet to blockade the port of Alexandria, and cut off the sources of Cæsar's supplies.

This petty war was, however, now drawing near its concluſion. The troops which Mithridates, of Pergamus, had collected, were joined with the forces of Antipator of Idumea, the Jewiſh, the Arabian, and the Syrian princes; and this formidable army was marching, with rapid ſtrides, to the Egyptian frontiers. The fleet of the Egyptians, which was intended to blockade Alexandria, was aſſembled under Ptolemy near Canopus; and Cæſar was again determined to try the event of a naval engagement, againſt the combined force of Egypt. Little foreſight was required to judge of the reſult of this engagement.—Cæſar was victorious; but the animoſity of the Egyptians prevented any compromiſe being accompliſhed between them. The remnant of their fleet, which eſcaped, conveyed the remaining part of their army up one of the branches of the Nile; but they were no longer formidable to their enemies. Diſtracted in their councils, and effeminate in their manners, the Egyptians were ill calculated to meet a Roman army in the field. Every circumſtance was combined to ruin them, and the events of a few days annihilated the independence of Egypt.

Scarcely had this naval engagement terminated in favour of Cæſar, than the news was received of the allied army having paſſed the frontiers, and taken Peluſium by ſtorm. The bravery of Antipator upon that occaſion is mentioned as highly meritorious. He was the firſt who mounted the breach, and car-

ried the first posts of danger from the defenders of Pelusium. He also by his abilities, in conjunction with Hyrcanus, negociated with the Jews, who were settled upon the Eastern branch of the Nile, for a passage to the army, which had they disputed, would have essentially retarded their operations. The defection of the Jews from their allegiance to Ptolemy, by this means, precipitated, in an essential degree, the ruin of Egypt. Memphis followed the example of the province of Onion, and the party of Cæsar was now upon equal terms with that of Ptolemy. To prevent the advance of the allies of Cæsar, a detachment of the Egyptians posted themselves at the southern angle of the Delta, to dispute the passage of the Nile. A fierce and obstinate engagement ensued, in which both parties had occasionally the advantage; but the bravery of Antipator decided the fate of the day, and the Egyptians were routed in every direction. This battle made the scale of affairs preponderate in favour of Cæsar. A communication was now opened betwixt Alexandria and the allied army, and a general engagement would decide the country's fate. Ptolemy put his army in order of battle, immediately on the news of his late disaster; and being still superior in numbers, to either Cæsar's army or his allies, he still flattered himself with being able to overpower his enemies. He had reason, however, early to alter his opinion; for he had no sooner attacked the allied army, than he was attacked himself,

in his rear, by the army of Cæsar. The Egyptian forces were speedily thrown into confusion, and defeated in every direction. Ptolemy himself could scarcely have an opportunity of retreating from the field of battle; and in his attempt to cross an arm of the Nile, the barge, being overloaded, sunk, and himself, with all his attendants, perished. Thus terminated the struggle betwixt the Egyptians and the Romans, and the whole country afterwards submitted to the arms of Cæsar.

CLEOPATRA, THE LAST QUEEN OF EGYPT.

The affairs of Egypt being now solely under the direction of Cæsar, the crown was presented to Cleopatra, in conjunction with the youngest brother; and, to prevent any further disturbance, her sister Arsinoe was transported to Rome. Young Ptolemy being only eleven years of age, it was evident that she had in reality the sole government in her hands, and that the object of naming a coadjutor on the throne, was to preserve the popularity of her principal nobles, who retained a contempt for female government. She soon, however, conquered their aversion, and before her brother had reached his fifteenth year, (the period of installation) her minions were basely employed to put a period to his life by poison. Being thus without a competitor on the throne, and under the auspices of the Romans, her sway was as uncontrouled as her will, and her government of Egypt, as will appear in

the ſequel, was one uninterrupted ſcene of ſenſuality, diſſipation, and prodigality.

When Cæſar preſented Cleopatra with the ſceptre, it was not his regard to juſtice, or compliance with the will of the people, but to gratify an infatuated paſſion with which ſhe had inſpired him. Cæſar, in his amorous dalliances in Egypt, even forgot that he was the ſovereign of Rome, and the chief conſul of the Roman empire. Three months of inactivity were ſpent in the lap of pleaſure, after every enemy in Egypt had diſapppeared; and, at the requeſt of his paramour, be even prepared to penetrate into Ethiopia, and to add thoſe territories to her dominion. Like the veterans of Alexander, however, the ſoldiers would not tarniſh their arms by ſuch an inglorious campaign, and they refuſed to accompany Cæſar upon ſuch an expedition. After he had paraded, therefore, through Egypt with Cleopatra and the retinue of her Court, accompanied with a numerous fleet he returned to Alexandria, ſatiated with voluptuouſneſs and the grandeur of royalty. He had ſcarcely, however, entered the Egyptian capital, when he was rouzed from his luxurious lethargy by the news of Pharnaces, king of the Boſphorus, having defeated his lieutenant, Domitius Calvinus. The affairs of Egypt were ſettled with the greateſt diſpatch; he left part of the army under the direction of Cleopatra, and marched with the remainder into Aſia. Before he began his march, he granted ſeveral immunities and

privileges to the Jews, in gratitude for their co-operation againſt his enemies in Egypt, and ordered a column to be erected whereon his gratuities might be conſpicuouſly inſcribed. When he arrived in Aſia, his preſence ſpeedily reſtored the revolted provinces to their former maſters, and after he defeated Pharnaces, he wrote an epiſtle to one of his friends, as remarkable for its brevity as its truth. To denote the rapidity of his triumphs over his Aſiatic enemies, he adopted the following expreſſion: "*Veni, vidi, vici!*" I came, I ſaw, I conquered!

After Cæſar's departure from Egypt, the ſupreme power remained in the hands of Cleopatra, but it was continued only during the pleaſure of the chief conſul. She had, however, ſo effectually faſcinated the Roman conqueror, that a ſmile or a frown commanded his obedience; and ſo deeply was he enamoured, that it was even his intention to have united her to his fortunes by marriage. Suetonius abſolutely relates, that a law was intended to have been paſſed in favour of Polygamy, under the auſpices of which Cleopatra was to be eſpouſed; and that a harangue to the people of Rome had been actually prepared by Cæſar for that purpoſe. One ſon, whom ſhe named Cæſarion, was the fruit of their illicit intercourſe, and it was certainly the intention of his father to have ennobled him with the qualifications of a Roman citizen. Whatever his intentions reſpecting Cleopatra and Egypt might be, they were never fully developed.

It was evident, indeed, that he conſulted the tranquillity of the country, in removing Arſinoe to Rome, and from thence baniſhing her into Aſia. His plans of government, however, were not ripened into maturity, when a period was put to his life and his reign together, by the auſtere patriotiſm of Caſſius and Brutus.

The ſtruggle betwixt contending parties for dominion at Rome, after the death of Cæſar, ſuſpended, for a while, the political conduct of Cleopatra; but immediately on the formation of the Triumvirate, ſhe declared herſelf for that powerful coalition. We obſerve, in this conduct, the cautious policy of a courtier, and the prudence of a weak ſovereign. But prior to the union of that very powerful triumvirate, her conduct and profeſſions were entirely regulated by exiſting circumſtances. She at one time aſſiſted Caſſius againſt Dolabella; or rather, under pretence of ſending ſuccours to Dolabella, which conſiſted of four of the legions that were left her by Cæſar, they intentionally fell into the hands of his enemies. To repair that accident, ſhe ſoon after ſailed with a numerous fleet, to join either the army of Antony or Octavius; but a ſtorm having diſperſed her fleet, and herſelf falling ſick on that account, ſhe returned to Alexandria without having rendered either of them any aſſiſtance.

When Antony came to Aſia, after the defeat of Brutus and Caſſius, the ſuſpicious conduct of Cleo-

patra was related to him by ſome officious friends.—The policy ſhe obſerved, was ſecretly applauded by Antony, though he pretended to be offended at her conduct; and, on that account, ſummoned her to appear before him in Ciſicia, to anſwer the charges with which ſhe was accuſed. Hiſtorians are puzzled in opinion reſpecting the triumvir's real intention upon this occaſion; as it appears that Cleopatra, inſtead of being affected at the accuſation, ſeemed unuſually elated when the ſummons was received. The gayeſt apparel and the richeſt jewels were ſelected to adorn her perſon, and the moſt magnificent retinue, with an unuſual diſplay of wealth and luxury, followed in her train. She embarked on board a galley, the poop of which was covered with poliſhed gold; the ſails were purple, of the fineſt cloth; and the oars were inlaid with ſilver. Her gaity, her dreſs, the graces of her perſon and the bloom of youth, beſpoke more the language of a willing bride, than of a delinquent under accuſation. The anxiety of Antony for her arrival, and the preſſing ſolicitations of his friends to haſten her journey, during the preparations for her voyage, and even during the paſſage, evinced ſomething like a preconcerted plan of appointment. Her arrival, likewiſe, had more the appearance of a triumphal entry, than that of a princeſs under diſgrace. After croſſing the ſea of Pamphylia, ſhe ſailed up the river Cydnus in the greateſt ſtile of ſplendor and magnificence. A pa-

villion of gold was raiſed upon the deck, under which ſhe was ſeated, robed like Venus, and ſurrounded with the moſt beautiful virgins of her court, repreſented like the Nereids and the Graces. The moſt aromatic perfumes, which could diffuſe their fragrance to a conſiderable diſtance, were burnt upon the deck; and inſtead of trumpets and other inſtruments of a warlike nature, the muſic of flutes, hautboys, and harps, were warbling the ſofteſt airs, and kept harmony with the movement of the oars. Such a ſplendid appearance dazzled and aſtoniſhed every beholder; and even the tribunal of Antony was abandoned, when the news of her arrival became known.

On the landing of Cleopatra, ſhe encamped by the ſide of the river, and ſoon after, the compliments of Antony were preſented her, with an invitation to ſupper. To this ſolicitation ſhe briefly replied, "that Antony would in the firſt place accept of an entertainment from her." In his compliance with that requeſt, he was no leſs pleaſed than ſurprized at the magnificent manner with which ſhe regaled him. The branches of the trees leading to her tent were ſplendidly illuminated, and the ſumptuouſneſs of the feaſt correſponded with the exterior ſplendour. Her pleaſing converſation and brilliant wit were equally attracting with her perſonal charms; and it is not therefore ſurprizing, that, at the blooming age of twenty-five, the diſſolute Mark Antony was captivated with Cleopatra. The blunt raillery of the

ſoldier was corrected by the affability of her manners, and the rough aſperities of his temper modified into the ſemblance of politeneſs. Such an aſcendancy did ſhe ſoon gain over the Roman triumvir, that the government of Aſia was totally neglected, the diſtant provinces ſuffered to be aſſailed or overrun without check or reſiſtance, and he accompanied the queen of Egypt back to Alexandria. The faſcination of Cleopatra's preſence unnerved him for every exertion; and inſtead of accuſing her of duplicity or rebellion, he implicitly acquieſced in every thing ſhe propoſed. Her ſiſter, Arſinoe, who was baniſhed into Aſia, and the only competitor for the throne, was, in compliance with her ambitious projects, put by Antony's orders to death, though ſhe had taken refuge in the temple of Diana at Miletus, as in a ſecure aſylum. An unremitted round of feſtivals, games, and every ſpecies of amuſement, were adopted by Cleopatra to diſſipate reflection, and effectually to ſecure the attachment of Antony. His officers were likewiſe ſumptuouſly entertained; and the various ſervices of plate, which were ſplendidly adorned with jewelry, were no ſooner diſplayed, than, in the oſtentation of generoſity, ſhe preſented them to his attendants.

At one of theſe entertainments, Pliny and Macrobius relate an incident which ſufficiently marks the excentricity and extravagance of Cleopatra's character. At a feſtival which Mark Antony gave, ſhe was unuſually jocular upon the ſimplicity and inelegance of

his table. Piqued at the raillery, and even anxious to eclipse her in his entertainments, he wished to know from her what could add to its magnificence. To this reply she coolly observed, that she could expend more upon one supper than the value of 52,000l. (or, in the original, "*Centies centena millies sestertium.*") Amazed, and at the same time curious to know how that could be accomplished, Antony affirmed that it was impossible, and defied her to verify the boast. To this altercation, a wager ensued, and a banquet, which she intended to give the following day, was to decide the point in question. Every thing which appertained to the feast was, according to expectation, magnificent; but Antony, who could in no respect perceive its extraordinary value, sarcastically observed, that she had overrated her favours. Cleopatra, however, checked his raillery, by saying, that the banquet had only begun; and, after a change of tables, a cup of vinegar was presented before her, without any other appendage. Antony was again surprized at the singular desert, but he was soon undeceived by the extraordinary conduct of Cleopatra. At her ears, two of the richest pearls were suspended that could be used by the most magnificent princes of ancient times. One of these she dissolved in vinegar, and immediately swallowed; and Plancus, one of Antony's officers, who was present, perceiving that she intended to do the same with the other, interrupt-

ed the queen, and declared that the wager was already decided in her favour.*

Amid these scenes of dissipation and revelry in Egypt, the affairs of the triumvirate were in confusion at Rome; the Parthians were on the point of invading Syria; and Cæsar, the companion of Antony in power, was seducing his soldiers, and abusing his character and reputation. To these various dangers he seemed totally inattentive, and continued to amuse himself with Cleopatra for months together, in the different occupations of hunting and fishing, voluptuousness and gaming. Cleopatra, indeed, was solicitous that he should not escape her, for she was not only jealous of other women, but seemed to think that her power could only by his means be rendered permanent. He was, however, roused from these puerile amusements, by the rapid conquests of the Parthians, under the command of Labienus, a Roman, who yet survived the wreck of Brutus and Cassius's party. While sailing with a fleet of 200 gallies, and an army of Romans, Asiatics, and Egyptians, to check their career, he received the disagreeable intelligence of the probability of a rupture betwixt him and Octavius, and also of a civil war on the point of

* When Alexandria was after this period taken by Cæsar, (surnamed Augustus) this other pearl was carried to Rome, and consecrated to Venus; but being thought too large, it was cut in two, and served as pendants to the ears of that goddess. A.

breaking out in his native country. Inſtead, therefore, of debarking on the coaſt of Phenicia, he directed his armament to Italy, for the purpoſe of reeſtabliſhing his power, and to prevent a commotion in the center of the empire.

In this poſture of affairs, he arrived at Brundiſium, where, to his mortification, he found that Octavius had proceeded to extremities, and actually refuſed him admiſſion into the port. Having, however, inveſted the place by ſea and land, it was reduced to the neceſſity of ſurrendering; and ſoon afterwards, advice was received of the death of Fulvia, the wife of Antony. Theſe two events facilitated a peace betwixt the two powerful antagoniſts. The former brought about an intercourſe of the ſoldiers, who were mutually diſinclined to war; and the latter removed a principal cauſe of jealouſy, and the principal ambitious fomenter of the preſent quarrel. Under ſuch circumſtances, a pacification was concluded; and to cement the union more powerfully, Antony was married to Octavia, the ſiſter of Cæſar. This marriage, as it was to a woman of extraordinary beauty and virtue, was expected to have removed the paſſion he entertained for Cleopatra. But being only a marriage of convenience, not of inclination, he ſoon diſplayed his real ſentiments upon that ſubject.

The Parthians, grown bold from the little reſiſtance they experienced in their incurſions, now extended their conqueſts on every ſide. The Romans were

defeated in Syria, and Phenicia had afterwards fallen an eaſy prey to the victors. Cilicia and Aſia Minor on one ſide, and Egypt on the other, were thus open to their inroads, and little preparation was made in either direction to repel them. In ſuch a ſituation of affairs, Antony collected an army of Romans, to diſpel, by one deciſive blow, this cloud of barbarians; and he diſpatched Ventidius in the mean time, an officer of merit, to collect the forces in Aſia, with a view to check their progreſs. That general effectually ſucceeded in his miſſion, for he not only defeated the Parthians, but expelled them from all the provinces they had overrun. Antony, on his march to join Ventidius in Syria, had only arrived at Athens when this intelligence reached him; he ſtopped, therefore, all warlike preparations, and devoted his leizure time to diſſipation and extravagance in the ancient capital of Greece—now the ſilent monument of Roman ſplendour. From this ſtation, little buſineſs was tranſacted, except a journey to watch the motions of his colleague, Octavius, in Italy, till he determined upon a ſecond expedition againſt the Parthians. On paſſing into Aſia, he parted with his wife Octavia, who was at that time pregnant; and, notwithſtanding a perfect knowledge of her virtues and his own former improprieties, ſeemed immediately afterwards to have forgot that he owed her any degree of reſpect, or wiſhed the world to believe that he poſſeſſed any veneration for honor or virtue. Such

was his imbecility and attachment to former principles, that he dispatched a distinguished officer from Syria into Egypt, to conduct Cleopatra to his camp; and, after a short cohabitation, presented her, on returning home, the provinces of Phenicia, Cœlo-Syria, Cyprus, and a considerable portion of Cilicia.

These appendages to the power of the queen of Egypt are generally supposed, by historians, to have been given by Antony, with a view to appease her jealousy on account of his marriage with Octavia. Cleopatra pretended that she was formally espoused, according to the Egyptian laws, and that she was entitled to these provinces as the wife of Mark Antony. Such claims the fascinated general never attempted to resist, though he knew that they were highly offensive to his army, and in general disgusting to the Romans. He even, at her request, added a considerable portion of Judea to her power, along with the principal part of Arabia that was contiguous to the Red Sea. In these arrangements, Antony calculated upon extending the Roman empire, by the subjugation of the Parthians; so that what he intended to conquer, would amply compensate for what he had given away. In this calculation, he was, however, much mistaken, for the predatory warfare of that rude, uncivilized people, effectually defeated the skill and prowess of the Romans, and the army, after several inglorious battles, were obliged to retreat precipitately from the Euphrates to the garrison towns in Syria.

The loss which was experienced in the campaign was computed, after their arrival on the sea-coast, to be not less than 28,000 men, and 4,000 cavalry—a disaster, the memory of which required all the blandishments of the Egyptian queen to counteract and efface. She received the defeated Antony on board her fleet, and sailed immediately to Alexandria, in order to conceal his losses and his chagrin in the lap of pleasure and dissipation.

During this retreat into the Egyptian capital, the affairs of Antony became neglected at home; and the cunning, ambitious policy of his colleague, Octavius, infused a rancourous spirit among his former friends. These appearances, and his neglect of Octavia, began to operate sensibly against his interests; and, as if fully aware of the injury he suffered, he determined to recover his reputation by a new Parthian expedition. Octavia, hearing of this determination, and at the same time galled by the preference he gave to Cleopatra, prepared to throw herself in his way, on his march through Syria. To enhance the pleasure of their meeting, she furnished a variety of presents, and, among the rest, one of considerable importance, a body of 2,000 soldiers, that were raised as her brother's guard, and cloathed and accoutred as the Prætorian bands. With these she arrived in Greece, when her intention became known in Alexandria. Cleopatra, as if sensible of the result of their meeting, and aware of the influence of the virtuous Octavia

over the diſſolute mind of Antony, became violently jealous, and exerted every engine of an inſinuating and faſcinating nature, to prevent the poſſibility of their union. She affected an uncommon degree of dejection, and appeared to languiſh under a load of affliction that ſhe was unable to bear. Sometimes ſurprized in tears, ſhe ſeemed ſolicitous to conceal her anguiſh, by affecting to be amazed at her weakneſs, and by checking the riſing ſigh that aroſe inſenſibly from her boſom. Her health evidently declined; and it was whiſpered to Antony, that the life of Cleopatra was even in danger, though ſhe continued obſtinately ſilent reſpecting the cauſe of her grief. Her confidants, however, diſcloſed with great addreſs the motive of her ſorrow, which, whether real or affected, was no ſooner known than produced its object. The Roman general wrote peremptorily to Octavia, not to advance in her intended journey, and poſitively declined the acceptance of her preſents. By this means did he remove the anxiety of his paramour Cleopatra, and prepared to advance againſt the Parthians and their allies.

The imprudent conduct of Antony, to call it by no other name, tended in a great meaſure to accelerate his own ruin, and the deſtruction of thoſe whom he was moſt ſolicitous to ſave. The wrongs he heaped upon Octavia were made uſe of as the pretence of her brother to promote a rupture betwixt them; though ſhe nobly declared to Octavius, that if he had

no other reaſon for a war with Antony than what related to herſelf, to renounce her intereſts entirely. Her conduct was, in every reſpect, the moſt exemplary that could be diſplayed, and a perfect contraſt to the diſſolute politics of Cleopatra's court. Being willing to await the return of her huſband's inclinations, ſhe continued to manage his family and political concerns with the greateſt delicacy and diſcernment, and even juſtified Antony to his friends, in circumſtances of a dubious or exaggerated nature.

While theſe meaſures were tranſacting at home, he prepared to leave Alexandria, and march againſt the kings of Parthia and Armenia. But Cleopatra, notwithſtanding Antony's proteſtations of affection, was ſtill jealous of Octavia, (though ſhe had occaſioned an almoſt irreconcileable breach between them) and determined to accompany him in his intended campaign. She even proceeded as far as the Euphrates with his army, before ſhe could be prevailed upon to return, and that was complied with only upon the expreſs condition of his ſpending the winter in Alexandria.

More ſucceſsful than in the preceding war, Antony made himſelf maſter of Armenia, as much by means of treachery as by force of arms, and he returned in triumph to Alexandria, dragging the king at his chariot wheels, and preſented the royal captive in chains at the feet of Cleopatra. Such was the magnificence of his entry into Alexandria on his return, that it

even exceeded the parade of a Roman triumph; and, as was uſual upon ſuch occaſions at Rome, he made a public oration reſpecting his victories, and ordered a public feaſt upon the occaſion. An unuſual round of feſtivals and entertainments ſucceeded his triumphal proceſſion, and in the midſt of his exceſſes he bore the badge of eaſtern royaly, and aſſociated Cleopatra with him as his queen. He even aſſumed the attire and deſignation of a god, wearing the buſkins, the golden crown, and the chaplet of ivy belonging to the worſhip of Bacchus, and, with a thyrſus in his hand, paraded through Alexandria on a lofty car that was uſually appropriated to the proceſſions of the gods. Dio Caſſius even relates, that Cleopatra, his companion in every extravagance, aſſumed likewiſe the name and dreſs of the goddeſs Iſis, and that Antony cauſed her to be ſolemnly crowned on a throne erected for the purpoſe, conſtructed of maſſy gold. This remarkable throne was elevated on a high platform, the aſcent to which was effected by ſteps of ſolid ſilver. On this lofty pageant, Antony preſented Cleopatra to the people as queen, not only of Egypt and Cyprus, but of Africa and Cœlo-Syria. Her ſons were likewiſe deſignated for princes; and Antony decreed, that both the eaſtern provinces which were conquered, and thoſe which he intended to conquer, were to be conſidered as their ſeveral portions. To Cæſarion, the ſon of Julius Cæſar, who was ſeated on a lower part of the throne,

he gave the ſucceſſion to the crown of Egypt and its appendages; and to Alexander and Ptolemy, his own two ſons by Cleopatra, he allotted Armenia, Media, and Parthia; and Phenicia, Syria and Cilicia. To render this ſcene of drunkenneſs ſtill more ridiculous, he preſented each of his ſons to the people, in the dreſs, retinue, and inſignia, ſuited to their ſeveral deſtinations: Alexander wore the Perſian tiara; and Ptolemy, the dreſs and diadem of the princes of Macedonia.

Such deeds of folly and ambition diſguſted many of his principal officers; and every circumſtance, with its minuteſt relations, was repeated in the Roman capital, to the prejudice and diſcredit of Antony. Many of his friends were at this time induced to join the party of Octavius, and the diſputes and jealouſies which were occaſioned by his imprudent conduct, tended in a great meaſure to weaken his political intereſts. A new expedition againſt the Medes and Parthians was ſoon after planned, and partly put in execution; but the hoſtile views of Octavius became ſo evident and exaſperating, that he ſtopped his progreſs in the eaſt, and aſſembled the ſenators and officers of his army, to deliberate on the ſtate of his affairs. His grounds of animoſity and complaint againſt the intriguing Octavius were ſo great and numerous, that he ſaw no other reſource but open war; and, as the firſt declaration of hoſtility, he renounced his marriage with the unhappy Octavia, and

put his army in motion towards the shores of Italy. The jealousy and ambition of Cleopatra tended, in a great measure, to hasten the determinations of Antony at this important juncture; and as she accompanied the Roman general in his march, his friends suggested the impropriety of her stay, and wished him to remove her to Alexandria. An accommodation with Cæsar was still to be wished for, and the friends of Antony hoped that a door for reconciliation was yet left open. But the influence of the Egyptian queen defeated such an expectation; and several of his officers, who felt themselves disappointed, thought proper to desert his standard, and join that of his antagonist. In this situation of affairs, he still continued deaf to remonstrance, and prepared to act hostilely against Octavius. The fleets and forces of Egypt were collected by Cleopatra's orders; the legions of Antony, with all his maritime power, repaired to rendezvous at Ephesus; and every effort was made use of to render his army more formidable, and to annihilate the aspiring ambition of his enemy.

While the affairs of Antony were thus powerful by sea and land, Octavius was not less active at Rome, in subverting the hopes of his antagonist with respect to receiving assistance from Italy; and at the same time in defending himself from any sudden attacks by an invasion. The enemies of Antony had procured a copy of his will, and of his several decrees respecting Cleopatra and her sons. These deeds

of the Roman general redounded little to his credit; but the facts being diſtorted and exaggerated, were propagated with ſuch effect among the people, that they rendered him an object of deteſtation, ridicule, and ſcorn. They were even introduced into the ſenate, and occaſioned a decree which diveſted him of the ſovereignty in the eaſt, and ſuſpended him from the exerciſe of all his civil and military powers. War was likewiſe declared againſt the queen of Egypt, though it was generally underſtood that Antony was the object—Octavius, with his uſual diſcretion, being unwilling to create an unneceſſary number of enemies where there was no occaſion. The few remaining friends whom Antony had in Rome, upon theſe deſperate meaſures of Octavius, repaired immediately to the army, where he was informed of the proceedings of his hollow friends and his open enemies; and, as a reply to the provocations of Octavius, declared war againſt him in his turn, and repudiated his ſiſter Octavia.* The fleet and army advanced

* The peculiar and virtuous conduct of Octavia, on being divorced from Antony, is almoſt without example in any age. When the deputies of Antony, according to their orders, commanded her to quit his houſe, with all her children, (an indignity the more ſenſible to Octavia, as a rival was the occaſion) ſhe ſtifled her reſentment, anſwered only with her tears, and obeyed them without a murmur. The rage of Cæſar her brother, with the reſentment of the people, ſhe appeaſed by the calm dignity of her manners; and inſtead of reſenting the ill uſage of Antony, ſhe de-

from Epheſus to Samos, and from thence to Athens, where Antony, inſtead of making active preparations for offenſive war, diſſipated the ſeaſon in feſtivals and proceſſions in honour of Cleopatra. After a lapſe of ſeveral months, he proceeded to the iſland of Corcyra, where all his forces were aſſembled, and from whence it was expected that Italy was immediately to be invaded. But Antony was remiſs, and the opportunity of retrieving his affairs was by that means inevitably loſt. His fleet and army were, in the moſt favourable moment, obliged to return and paſs the winter in the gulph of Ambracia; and Cæſar was left at liberty to aſſemble his forces, combine his reſources, and become the aſſailant in his turn.

When Cæſar perceived that Antony had abandoned the iſland of Corcyra, and retreated into an inland ſea, he collected his maritime forces to intercept his ſupplies, prevent the junction of other forces, and to carry on the war in Greece, where, in caſe of a defeat, he could retrieve his affairs by retreating into Italy. With theſe reſolutions, a kind of ſkirmiſhing war was carried on for ſeveral months betwixt the outpoſts of the two armies, till Antony found himſelf diſtreſſed for neceſſaries, and obliged to come to a general en-

clared that the petty differences ſubſiſting betwixt them was only a quarrel betwixt women; and that as ſhe had married as the pledge of peace, and an union betwixt her brother and Antony, ſhe ſhould conſider herſelf wretched, if a war ſhould be occaſioned on her account.

A-

gagement. Antony, and his moſt experienced officers, wiſhed to abandon their ſhips, and reſt their cauſe on the deciſion of a battle on ſhore; but Cleopatra, whoſe influence in the councils determined every meaſure, (yet whoſe fears, indolence, and inexperience, rendered her the moſt unfit) dreaded the alternative of being deprived of a retreat by ſea, and therefore urged an immediate voyage to Alexandria, from whence the land forces in Greece could be ſupplied with proviſions by her cruiſers, and the fate of the empire decided on the Egyptian ſeas. To obviate the diſgrace of this daſtardly meaſure, ſhould it be carried into effect to the extent Cleopatra wiſhed, it was agreed that the fleet ſhould retreat in perfect order, but, if attacked, to try the effect of a battle. According to this reſolution, all veſſels which were indifferently manned, or out of repair, were ſelected and burnt, and the remainder were prepared for action, and of putting to ſea.

The ſtrength of Antony's naval force upon this occaſion conſiſted of five hundred ſhips of extraordinary ſize and ſtructure. They were built with ſeveral decks and tiers of oars; had towers, both upon ſtem and ſtern, of a conſiderable height; and were, withal, ſo ſuperb upon the ocean, that they might have been taken for floating iſlands. To mann this fleet, mariners could not be found in ſufficient number, ſo that Antony was obliged to make up the deficiency with huſbandmen, artificers, and in general men of little

experience. Octavius, on the contrary, was more attentive to utility than ſplendor, and though his ſhips were not above half in ſize or number, his ſeamen and ſoldiers were doubly experienced in the art of war and naval tactics. Upon the motions of Antony from the ſhore, the fleet of Cæſar formed in regular order within the narrow ſea of Ambracia, and by that means rendered a general battle unavoidable. The armies of both Antony and Cæſar were drawn up on each ſide of the gulph to view the reſult of the battle, and the engagement began before the city of Actium, without either of them experiencing any apparent advantage. The conteſt remained for ſome time dubious, but the extreme timidity of Cleopatra produced a defection in part of Antony's line that operated much in favour of Cæſar. Unaccuſtomed to an engagement at ſea, ſhe continued an anxious ſpectator till the conteſt became violent, when, overcome with horror and affright, ſhe retired from the ſcene of action, and afterwards fled with precipitation towards the coaſts of the Peleponeſus. The Egyptian ſquadron, which conſiſted of ſixty ſail, perceiving from the gilded poop and purple ſails of Cleopatra's ſhip, that ſhe had retreated, withdrew likewiſe from the engagement, and followed their royal fugitive. Such a conſpicuous deſertion from the ſcene of action aſtoniſhed even the deluded Antony, and, actuated either from a ſentiment of deſpair, or with a hope to rally thoſe who fled, he purſued them in a quick-ſailing veſſel

till he overtook them. But being no longer capable of any vigorous or rational conduct, he ſuffered himſelf to be directed by Cleopatra, and became the companion of her flight. When he was, however, without the reach of retrieving his affairs, and had quitted the chance of victory, he became ſo extremely ſenſible of his own diſgrace and conſequent ruin, that he threw himſelf in anguiſh upon the deck, and continued inſenſible to her charms, her converſation, or their future proſpects of defence.

The deſertion of Antony was for ſome time unknown throughout his fleet, and the battle continued to be obſtinately conteſted till late in the afternoon, when they were moſtly overpowered and deſtroyed. Thoſe who eſcaped, followed the route of their leader to the Peleponeſus, during the night; but a great part, not knowing his deſtination, fell an eaſy prey to the victors. The army on land were prepared for reſiſtance, and, in the daily expectation of Antony's return, had fortified their camp, and rejected every overture which was made them by Octavius. But being diſappointed in their expectations of his return, they conſulted their own ſafety, either by a timely retreat, or by making their peace with Cæſar. Antony, in the mean time, had arrived at Tenarus, but, without any ſettled reſolution or decided purpoſe, received the fragments of his fleet and the remnant of his army with apparent compoſure. He beſtowed all the favours he could diſpenſe to his

troops with a liberal hand, and ordered them the neceſſary ſupplies, as he uſually did upon former occaſions, from the keeper of his treaſury at Corinth. In performing theſe acts of munificence and diſcipline, he ſeemed to have recovered his wonted independence and courage, but, like the calm which precedes the ſtorm, was ſoon after contraſted by an oppoſite conduct. News was brought, that ſeveral of the Aſiatic provinces, and detached legions, had acknowledged his victorious enemy, and that even ſeveral officers, whom he had conſidered as his friends, had betrayed his intereſts. In this dangerous dilemma, ſurrounded by treacherous friends and open enemies, Antony ſuffered himſelf to be governed by Cleopatra, and, without attempting to rally his forces in Greece, or to join his army in Aſia, tranſported himſelf, and the trifling force under his command, to the capital of Egypt.

Arrived at Alexandria, whither Cleopatra had previouſly fled, he found his paramour employed in the cowardly, though deſperate meaſure, of proſcribing all thoſe nobles, whom ſhe ſuſpected in any degree inimical to her government. She was even afraid that the knowledge of her defeat and conſequent misfortunes would diffuſe a ſpirit of mutiny and deſertion among the troops, and ſhe therefore publiſhed the falſe intelligence on her arrival, that ſhe had returned victorious. Antony, however, upon his landing on the Lybian coaſt, ſpeedily publiſhed his own misfortunes.

His lieutenant Scarpus, who commanded ſeveral legions in Lybia, and in whom he had repoſed the moſt unlimited confidence, had declared for Cæſar, and when this intelligence was communicated to him, he was with difficulty reſtrained from putting a period to his life. To add to all other mortifications, his beloved Cleopatra was even ſuſpected of treachery, and the Arabians, the uſual allies of the Egyptians, declared hoſtilely againſt Antony, and burned the fleet that was building, and that had been tranſported to the Red ſea. This laſt misfortune was an extreme diſappointment, as thoſe veſſels had been conveyed thither with an intention of carrying away their treaſures in their laſt reſource, and with the view of eluding the purſuit of Cæſar.

Deprived now, therefore, of every hope, Cleopatra was determined to make her peace with Octavius, even though the ſacrifice of Antony was the alternative. With this reſolution, ſhe flattered the latter with the proſpect of a reconciliation, and induced him to ſend a deputation to Cæſar, while ſhe was, in the mean time, employing clandeſtine methods to ſecure herſelf. The ambaſſadors who were ſent by Antony were refuſed an audience, but thoſe who were ſecretly diſpatched from Cleopatra received a favourable reception. Cæſar was earneſtly ſolicitous to ſecure the perſon and treaſures of Cleopatra, the former to adorn his triumph into Rome, and the latter to diſcharge the debts he had contracted in the war; and,

on that account, would make no ſtipulations, but urged her to deliver up Antony, and, in the ſurrender of herſelf, he endeavoured to inſpire her with hopes of future favour. Cleopatra, however, had ſagacity enough to perceive the policy of Octavius, and though ſhe would not have heſitated to betray the unconſcious Antony upon terms that would have ſatisfied her own ambition, ſhe had, nevertheleſs, a ſufficient attachment to the Roman general, to prevent ſuch a ſacrifice without an equivalent motive. After a lapſe of a few weeks, during which time Antony was ſequeſterd from public affairs, enjoying the philoſophic converſe of a few friends, he returned to his former purſuits, in the careſſes of Cleopatra and the voluptuouſneſs of her court: And ſo much was he devoted to that unprincipled woman, that he a ſecond time ſolicited Cæſar, in the moſt humiliating terms, in order to preſerve Cleopatra and her children from being hurled from their dignified ſituation. He even propoſed the abject condition of paſſing his life at Athens as an exile and as a private citizen, or of being willing to die, if he could procure her any favourable terms. But all his overtures were rejected; and as every province beyond the limits of Egyyt were in arms againſt him, there ſeemed no other reſource but unconditional ſubmiſſion or deſperate reſiſtance. His mind, however, was not moulded for dignified reflection, like Cato, in the midſt of calamity. On the contrary, when every hope was fled, he

gave himſelf up to riot and diſſipation, and ſeemed to have acquired that ſpecies of eaſe amidſt his misfortunes, which reſults only from the impulſe of deſpair.

Octavius, whoſe ſpies informed him of every tranſaction in Egypt, took advantage of Antony's remiſſneſs, to invade the kingdom on every ſide. Peluſium and Paretonium were no ſooner ſummoned to ſurrender, than they obeyed; and the troops on the frontiers, inſtead of defending the paſſes and ſupporting the intereſts of Antony, rallied under the ſtandard of Octavius. The intrigues and connivance which Cleopatra had previouſly concerted with Cæſar, accounted for the treachery of Seleucus in delivering up Peluſium; but her hypocriſy to Antony on this occaſion, and his ſeeming confidence in her profeſſions, almoſt exceed credibility. His birth-day, which occurred ſoon after, was celebrated with great ſolemnity and magnificence by Cleopatra, and, as if effectually to remove his ſuſpicions, delivered up the treacherous Seleucus to his juſtice. Her duplicity and unwarrantable treachery were, however, ſoon conſpicuouſly diſplayed. Antony was once more rouzed from his lethargy, on the approach of Cæſar to Alexandria; and, as the laſt effort of his expiring valour, defeated in one vigorous ſally the cavalry of Cæſar, with conſiderable execution. Encouraged by this trivial ſucceſs, he collected the remaining forces of Egypt, and determined by one ſingular effort, the following day, to try the fortune of war, or to die like a ſoldier,

ſword in hand. The Egyptian fleet had, however, no ſooner received the ſignal to engage, than they ſtruck their colours, and ſurrendered to Octavius. The cavalry, at the ſame time, deſerted to the enemy, and the infantry were defeated and drove into the city on the firſt onſet.---Antony ſeeing all his meaſures defeated, now wiſhed to ſignalize himſelf by an act of proweſs. He challenged Octavius to ſingle combat; but Cæſar was too political to riſque his glory upon the chance of arms, and he replied, that if Antony was weary of his life, he might find other means equally convenient.

Such was the termination of the power of Antony and the glory of Cleopatra. The Roman general, now perceiving that he was ridiculed by Cæſar and betrayed by Cleopatra, returned to the palace to revenge himſelf upon the queen; but ſhe was too much afraid to meet the unſuſpicious victim of her charms and of her treachery, and therefore took refuge in the monument which ſhe had built, upon a plan of great magnificence, for the purpoſe of being her ſepulchre. Thither were her treaſures likewiſe conveyed, and the place being inacceſſible from without, her attendants were inſtructed to report to Antony, that, preferring an honourable death to a ſhameful captivity, ſhe had terminated her exiſtence amidſt the tombs of her anceſtors. Antony, who was the moment before intent upon ſacrificing his paramour to his rage, now proceeded to the oppoſite extremity, in

the moſt violent tranſports of grief. In this diſpoſition he gave his ſword to Eros, a freed ſlave, to put a period to his misfortunes; but the affection which that ſervant bore him, diſabled him from diſcharging that dreadful office, and, inſtead of killing his maſter, plunged the ſword into his own boſom. Antony then took the weapon, and following the example, fell upon his ſword; but the wound not being immediately mortal, he had the mortification to learn ſoon afterwards that Cleopatra was yet alive. Reviving at the intelligence, he deſired to be conveyed into her preſence; but the queen being afraid of opening the gates, appeared on the battlements, where, to her ſurprize and diſtreſs, ſhe perceived the bleeding body of Antony, in the pangs of death. He was, in that dreadful condition, drawn up by means of cords to the top of the building, but the meeting betwixt them was too affecting for deſcription. He extended his feeble hands, with features diſtorted, towards the frantic Cleopatra; and while ſhe accuſed herſelf of treachery to that unhappy Roman, beat her breaſt, tore her hair, and, with the moſt mournful exclamations, ſaw him expire in agonies at her feet.---Thus died the great, but unfortunate Antony, in the 53d year of his age, leaving no other competitor in the government of the Roman empire, but Octavius Cæſar.

Cleopatra, now that the great obſtacle to the ambition of Cæſar was removed, in the death of Antony, wiped away her tears, and had yet ſufficient am-

bition left to form expectancies in the future government of Egypt. The charms of her person were yet sufficiently attracting, to have made an impression on the youthful mind of Octavius; but while he flattered her hopes on that occasion, in order to gain a knowledge of her treasures, and be enabled to carry her in security to Rome, he had too great a command over his passions to suffer any political purpose he had in view to be by that means superceded. After, therefore, he had gained possession of her person in the monument, by a stratagem of Proculeius, he endeavoured to inspire her with confidence, and to divert her from any fatal purpose she might resolve upon, in case she felt herself disappointed. She was, however, removed from the monument to the palace, and, under pretence of paying her military honors, a guard was appointed to watch over all her motions. In order, likewise, to encourage in Cleopatra the hope and the desire of life, Octavius again dispatched his friend, Proculeius, to offer in his name any favours she might desire. The interment of Antony only was requested, and was performed by the queen in the most magnificent manner. But Cæsar being still aware of the suspicions she entertained against him, made her a visit in person, to divert her from any desperate purposes, by the prospect of future grandeur, and at the same time to ascertain the extent of her wealth. The interview was conducted by Octavius with the caution of an able negociator, solicitous to flatter and to

gain information, and alſo ſtudious to avoid any engagement that might be injurious to his intereſts. Cleopatra, on the contrary, diſplayed the modeſty and dejection of an afflicted widow, combined with that elegance of grace in melancholy, which is ſo peculiarly attractive and affecting in a beautiful woman; and while ſhe handed him an inventory of her treaſures, ſeemed anxious, likewiſe, to impreſs the mind of Cæſar with ſentiments of a tender nature. The conqueror was too cool a ſpectator, to be win ſo to her purpoſe; and as he plainly perceived, through the diſguiſe of her ſorrow, that the character was aſſumed, he redoubled his attention to prevent any attempt ſhe might form againſt her life. When ſhe found, however, that Octavius only trifled with her hopes, and was, on the contrary, ſecretly determined to carry her, along with her children, to Italy, as an ornament of his triumph, ſhe reſolved effectually to deceive him, by a voluntary death. Having formerly aſcertained the knowledge of an immediate diſſolution, by various experiments which were wantonly made on criminals, ſhe ſecretly procured the means of accompliſhing her reſolution, and patiently awaited her opportunity. On that fatal day, ſhe requeſted liberty from Cæſar to viſit Antony's tomb. She there vowed her reſolution, and, after ſtrewing the ſilent grave of her lover with flowers, ſhe returned to her palace, went into her private bath, and from thence to dinner. After this ſhe wrote to Cæſar; and having ordered all

her attendants to retire, except her two favourite women, a peaſant brought her a baſket of figs, at the bottom of which an aſpic* was concealed. With this ſhe ſuffered herſelf to be ſtung, and, after reclining upon her bed, died without a groan.—Thus died the celebrated Cleopatra, at the age of thirty-nine; and after a reign of two and twenty years. Making allowances for the failings and the vices which a corrupted education rendered familiar to her, ſhe was a princeſs of great liberality, profound erudition, and wonderful abilities. Though the luxury of her court tended to introduce the baſeſt paraſites, and men of the moſt criminal characters, her patronage of literature, her devotion to the arts, and her attachment to every ſcience which can humanize and exalt the mind of man, muſt render her memory long venerable among civilized nations, and only occaſion their regret that her virtues ſhould have been tarniſhed by ſuch violent paſſions. The famous Alexandrian library was again opened under her reign; the productions of the moſt celebrated philoſophers were added to the collection (excluſive of the library of the king of Pergamus, given to her by Antony, conſiſting of 200,000 volumes); and, beſides repairing the loſs of the Bruchion library conſumed by fire, ſhe augmented it with numerous tranſlations that were before unintelligible to Egyptian or Grecian philoſo-

* For an account of this ſerpent, ſee a deſcription of the Ceraſtes in vol. i. p. 254. A.

phers. Her own example ſtimulated the labours of literary men; and ſhe not only underſtood the Egyptian and the Macedonian languages, thoſe moſt common to her anceſtors, but could ſpeak and tranſlate with facility the language of the Ethiopians, Troglodytæ, Arabians, Syrians, Medes and Parthians, and even communicated with their ambaſſadors without an interpreter. Such were the qualities of Cleopatra, the laſt of the independent Egyptian ſovereigns; a woman of unexampled beauty, the principal ſource of all her vices, and moſtly of all her crimes.

Octavius had no ſooner received the letter of Cleopatra, than a meſſenger was diſpatched to prevent an event which had already occurred. The Pſili, or ſerpent-eaters, were employed to ſuck the poiſon from the wound, but all his efforts to reſtore her to life were in vain. The diſappointed Cæſar, thus deprived of a principal ornament to his victories, was obliged, on his return to Rome, to ſubſtitute only a ſtatue of that wonderful woman in his triumphal proceſſion. ---With reſpect to the ſubjugation of Egypt, the conqueror adopted his uſual policy, in rendering that ancient kingdom a willing victim to the Roman yoke. Cæſarion, his brother, and the ſon of Julius Cæſar by Cleopatra, had too high pretenſions to the fortunes of his father to be ſpared, and was therefore put to death in attempting to eſcape into Ethiopia. The people of Alexandria, who dreaded the idea of military puniſhment, were told by Octavius himſelf, on getting

poſſeſſion of the city, that he pardoned them for the following reaſons: On account of Alexander, their founder; the elegance of their city; and the merit and knowledge of Arioeus, one of their citizens.---- The priſoners of ſtate who were confined in the capital were releaſed; the principal citizens of ability were employed in offices of truſt; a Roman officer was appointed as their governor; and the affairs of Egypt reſumed their uſual channel, under maſters equally arbitrary as formerly; but under men of greater ability and greater judgment.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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